



**SOCIO-POLITICAL LIFE IN INDIA DURING  
16<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES AS REFLECTED  
IN THE SUFI LITERATURE**

**ABSTRACT  
OF THE  
THESIS**

**SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**IN**

**HISTORY**

**BY**

**KAMAL AKHTAR**

**Under the Supervision of  
DR. IQBAL SABIR**

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

**2008**

## **ABSTRACT**

Sufism is an important segment of our social life. It has played significant role in developing social, cultural and political trends in India during the medieval period. The Chishtiya and Suharwardiya silsilas exerted great influence on the social, cultural and political trends of the Indian sub-continent, during the Sultanate period. In closing years of the fourteenth century the Qadiriya Silsilah also appeared in the spiritual scenario of the country. Similarly, at the end of the sixteenth century the Naqshbandi Silsilah too entered into India and dominated its religious atmosphere during the whole seventeenth century. When we make a survey of the sufi's activities since the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, an eminent saint of the Sabiriya branch of the Chishti order, as a pioneering personality. Though the early Chishtis of the Sultanate period always avoided the company of rich people and ruling class, Shaikh Abdul Quddus maintained cordial relations with the contemporary rulers. The collection of his letters contains epistles addressed to Sikandar Lodi, Ibrahim Lodi, Babur and Humayun and also to several contemporary nobles and officials. The other important saint of the sixteenth century was Saiyid Mohammad Ghauth of Gwalior who belonged to the Shattari Silsilah. He too maintained friendly relations with Humayun and Akbar. Humayun is said to have become his murid. Among the Sufis of the Qadiri silsilah in the sixteenth century, Shaikh Amanullah of Panipat deserves special mentions. Akbar was so deeply influenced by his spiritual excellence that he used to consult the saint in important official matters. As mentioned above, the Naqshbandi Silsilah was introduced in India during the closing years of the sixteenth century. Its

founder in our country was Khwaja Baqi Billah. Like his spiritual predecessor in Central Asia, Khwaja Baqi Billah considered it appropriate to maintain relations with the rulers and ruling class. His Chief Khalifa and the most famous Naqshbandi sufi of the early seventeenth century Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was of the view that the ruler's position in relations to his subjects is like the position of heart in relation to body. If heart is defective, whole body will suffer. Similarly, if the ruler is not just, people will have to face difficulties. Therefore, to reform the society, it is essential to reform the ruler first of all. Sirhindi openly criticized Akbar's religious experiments and tried to win over Jahangir to rule in accordance with the laws of Islam. His son Khwaja Mohammed Ma'sum and other descendents were in close relations with Aurangzeb. Among the Sufis of other Silsilahs in those days, Miyan Mir Qadiri of Lahore also occupies significant place.

Accordingly, the whole period of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries was under the deep impact of Sufis and Sufism. Throughout the period they worked on the principles of 'love for humanity', 'service to mankind' and 'feeling of communal harmony'. Taking abode in different cities and towns of the country they attracted people of various sections to their mystic fold. They also deeply influenced the contemporary political life. Rulers and nobles also felt inclined to these spiritual personalities. Most of the saints of our period of study, i.e. 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, maintained cordial relations with them. However, their activities were not confined only to this extent. They also made great contributions in academic and literary fields. Several biographical accounts, *Malfuzat* of the saints, works on philosophical aspects of Sufism, brochures and treatises on litanies and practices, and the collections of letters of the Sufis

were produced during the 16<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This sufi-literature is valuable source of our information for understanding the history of the period. The impact of the Sufis on Indian society and culture in those days can be clearly studied in this literature. The influence of their teachings on common man and also the problem of people belonging to the lower strata of society may be evaluated through these works. The sufi literature throws light on almost all aspects of medieval life - social, cultural and political.

This literature discusses not only the Sufi ideas and thought but also provides valuable information about the social trends of the period. This also throws light on different aspects of social life of the period such as preaching of religion, social relation and communal harmony. This literature also tells us about the aristocratic trends and working of the ruling class. It helps us, to great extent, in understanding the contemporary political environment as well. As most of the Sufis of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries maintained cordial relations with the contemporary rulers and nobles, this literature provides different types of informations about the religious inclination and method of working of the rulers and also reveals their attitude towards people. We also come to know about personal affairs of the ruling class through this literature. As for example the most eminent Sufi of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi was in closed touch with his contemporary Sultans and Emperors. We find lot of informations about Ibrahim Lodi, Babar and Humayun in his biographical account, *Anwar-ul Ayun*, compiled by his son, and successor Shaikh Ruknuddin. Similarly the collection of his letters entitled *Maktubat-i Shaikh Abdul Quddus* contains several letters to these rulers. We get information through these works that the Shaikh himself participated in the first battle of



Panipat from the side of Ibrahim Lodi. He never hesitated in pointing out to these rulers any mistake committed by them. His letters are great evidence of this fact. We also come to know through his works about Babar's early difficulties in India.

Accordingly, it may be said that Sufi literature of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries reflect complete socio-political environment of the period. This literature may be held as significant source on the history of the period. As no research work has been done in this regard, this Sufi literature needs to be critically examined so that a clear picture of the socio-political life of the period may be brought to light.

The present research work fulfils this need to great extent. This thesis entitled **"Socio-political life in India during 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries as reflected in the Sufi Literature"** consists of an Introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter **"Eminent Sufis of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries"** covers a brief history of Sufis and Sufism during the period. Biographical and other details of the Sufis of those period belonging to different silsilahs have been brought to light. The chapter second **"Sufi Works of the period"** provides detailed information about the works produced during our period of study. A number of works written by Sufis and their followers on different aspects of spirituality and spiritual figures have been mentioned in this chapter. The third chapter deals with the **"Development of spiritual thought"**. Actually a picture of the ideological environment in the sufism in India during the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries has been depicted in this chapter. In other words the development of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* and *Wahdat-ush shuhud* has been discussed.

An attempt has been made in the fourth chapter to bring to light the “**social life**” with special reference to Sufis attitude towards non-Muslims. The fifth chapter is about the “**political life**” of the period in which Sufis relations with the state have been discussed. There is a conclusion as well in which the significance of the sufi literature of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries as source of our socio-cultural history has been discussed. The thesis also contains a selected bibliography.



**SOCIO-POLITICAL LIFE IN INDIA DURING  
16<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES AS REFLECTED  
IN THE SUFI LITERATURE**

**THESIS**

**SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**IN**

**HISTORY**

**BY**

**KAMAL AKHTAR**

**Under the Supervision of**

**DR. IQBAL SABIR**

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

**2008**



27 OCT 2014



T8692

*Dedicated to*  
*My*  
*Beloved Parents*

*Dr. Iqbal Sabir*

Sr. Lecturer



## CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY


Department of History  
Aligarh Muslim University  
Aligarh-202002, U.P., India  
Phone: 0571-2703146 (O)  
Mobile: 09411488564

---

Dated : 25.11.2008

### *Certificate*

This is to certify that **Mr. Kamal Akhtar** has completed his research work under my supervision. The thesis prepared by him on “**Socio-political life in India during 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries as reflected in the sufi literature**” is his original research work and I consider it suitable for submission for the award of the Degree of Ph.D. in History.

  
(Dr. Iqbal Sabir)  
Supervisor

## PREFACE-CUM-ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*Sufism has played significant role in social, cultural and even in political development in India during the medieval period. Taking abode in different regions of the country, the Muslim saints, i.e. Sufis, attracted people of all sections to their fold. Undoubtedly the motto of Sufis was to develop the feelings of communal harmony, love for human beings and service of mankind. They also left impact on medieval political life. But at the same time Sufis and their followers also greatly contributed in the field of learning and scholarship. Large number of works were produced on different aspects of Islamic mysticism. History tells us that most of these works were written during 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. These works include biographical accounts, malfuzat of the saints, works on philosophical aspects of Sufism, brochures and treatises on litanies and practices, and the collections of letters of the Sufis. This literature of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries reflects complete socio-political scenario of the time. An attempt has been made in the present thesis to use this sufi literature for deriving information for socio-political life during the period.*

*In this connection, I consider it my pleasant duty to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to my esteemed supervisor Dr. Iqbal Sabir. This work would not have been possible without his special care, help, affectionate guidance and valuable suggestions and enriching discussions. I feel honoured and fortunate to complete my thesis under his inspiring supervision. I find myself unable to express my gratitude and obligation to him in words. I have always received brotherly affection and kindness from him.*

*I am indebted to Professor B.L. Bhadani, Chairman, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. He has always been compassionate to me and taken much interest in solving my problems. There are no words to express my deep sincerity and thankfulness to*

*him for his generous and kind attitude towards me. I am also deeply indebted to Prof. Shahabuddin Iraqi, former Chairman of the department for his courtesy and kindness. My grateful thanks are due to Prof. Tariq Ahmad and Dr. Ali Athar whose advices and suggestions have always been a useful addition to my knowledge.*

*I am also grateful to the authorities of the U.G.C. National fellowship and Indian Council of Historical Research (I.C.H.R.) for awarding me the fellowships. These provided me not only with moral support but also economical support to me for my extensive research material collection from various libraries and state libraries for my thesis.*

*I would be failing in my responsibility if I do not acknowledge my deepest gratitude to my parent. They have always been source of inspiration and encouragement for me. My thanks are also due to my brothers, sisters-in-laws and sisters and brothers-in-law for their love and compassion, moral support and ungrudging help throughout my research work.*

*I shall be guilty if I don't acknowledge the courtesy and kindness of the staff members of the research library of our Department. They cooperated with me at every step and made all books available that were needed. I am also thankful to the staff of Maulana Azad Library, especially its Persian, Urdu, and manuscripts sections, and also to the staff of seminar library of the Department of Islamic studies. My thanks are also due to the office staff of my department.*

*My sincere regards and grateful thanks are also due to all my friends and well wishers, both in and outside Aligarh, for their help and affection during my research work.*



**(KAMAL AKHTAR)**



## CONTENTS

	Page No.
<i>Preface-cum-Acknowledgement</i>	<i>i-ii</i>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1-9</b>
<b>Chapter I     Eminent Sufis of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries</b>	<b>10-103</b>
<b>Chapter II     Sufi Works of the Period</b>	<b>104-127</b>
<b>Chapter III    Development of Spiritual Thought</b>	<b>128-150</b>
<b>Chapter IV    Social Life (Sufis and Non-Muslims)</b>	<b>151-179</b>
<b>Chapter V     Political Life (Sufis and State)</b>	<b>180-243</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>244-246</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>247-264</b>

## INTRODUCTION

Sufism is an important segment of our social life. It has played significant role in developing social, cultural and political trends in India during the medieval period. The Chishtiya and Suharwardiya silsilas exerted great influence on the social, cultural and political trends of the Indian sub-continent, during the Sultanate period. In closing years of the fourteenth century the Qadiriya silsilah also appeared in the spiritual scenario of the country. Similarly, at the end of the sixteenth century the Naqshbandi Silsilah too entered into India and dominated its religious atmosphere during the whole seventeenth century. When we make a survey of the sufis' activities since the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, an eminent saint of the Sabiriya branch of the Chishti order, as a pioneering personality. Though the early Chishtis of the Sultanate period always avoided the company of rich people and ruling class, Shaikh Abdul Quddus maintained cordial relations with the contemporary rulers. The collection of his letters contains epistles addressed to Sikandar Lodi, Ibrahim Lodi, Babur and Humayun and also to several contemporary nobles and officials. The other important saint of the sixteenth century was Saiyid Mohammad Ghauth of Gwalior who belonged to the Shattari Silsilah. He too maintained friendly relations with Humayun and Akbar. Humayun is said to have become his murid. Among the Sufis of the Qadiri silsilah in the sixteenth century, Shaikh Amanullah of Panipat deserves special mentions. Akbar was so deeply influenced by his spiritual excellence that he used to consult the saint in important official matters. As mentioned above, the Naqshbandi Silsilah was introduced in India during the closing years of the sixteenth century. Its

founder in our country was Khwaja Baqi Billah. Like his spiritual predecessor in Central Asia, Khwaja Baqi Billah considered it appropriate to maintain relations with the rulers and ruling class. His Chief Khalifa and the most famous Naqshbandi sufi of the early seventeenth century Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was of the view that the ruler's position in relations to his subjects is like the position of heart in relation to body. If heart is defective, whole body will suffer. Similarly, if the ruler is not just, people will have to face difficulties. Therefore, to reform the society, it is essential to reform the ruler first of all. Sirhindi openly criticized Akbar's religious experiments and tried to win over Jahangir to rule in accordance with the laws of Islam. His son Khwaja Mohammed Ma'sum and other descendents were in close relations with Aurangzeb. Among the Sufis of other Silsilahs in those days, Miyan Mir Qadiri of Lahore also occupies significant place.

Accordingly, the whole period of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries was under the deep impact of Sufis and Sufism. Throughout the period they worked on the principles of 'love for humanity', 'service to mankind' and 'feeling of communal harmony'. Taking abode in different cities and towns of the country they attracted people of various sections to their mystic fold. They also deeply influenced the contemporary political life. Rulers and nobles also felt inclined to these spiritual personalities. Most of the saints of our period of study, i.e. 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, maintained cordial relations with them. However, their activities were not confined to such an extent. They also made great contributions in academic and literary fields. Several biographical accounts, *Malfuzat* of the saints, works on philosophical aspects of Sufism, brochures and treatises on litanies and practices, and the collections of letters of the Sufis

were produced during the 16<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This sufi-literature is valuable source of our information for understanding the history of the period. The impact of the Sufis on Indian society and culture in those days can be clearly studied in this literature. The influence of their teachings on common man and also the problem of people belonging to the lower strata of society may be evaluated through these works. The sufi literature throws light on almost all aspects of medieval life - social, cultural and political.

This literature discusses not only the Sufi ideas and thought but also provides valuable information about the social trends of the period. This also throws light on different aspects of social life of the period such as preaching of religion, social relation and communal harmony. This literature also tells us about the aristocratic trends and working of the ruling class. It helps us, to great extent, in understanding the contemporary political environment as well. As most of the Sufis of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries maintained cordial relations with the contemporary rulers and nobles, this literature provides different types of information about the religious inclination and method of working of the rulers and also reveals their attitude towards people. We also come to know about personal affairs of the ruling class through this literature. As for example the most eminent Sufi of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi was in closed touch with his contemporary Sultans and Emperors. We find lot of information about Ibrahim Lodi, Babar and Humayun in his biographical account, *Anwar-ul Ayun*, compiled by his son, and successor Shaikh Ruknuddin. Similarly the collection of his letters entitled *Maktubat-i Shaikh Abdul Quddus* contains several letters to these rulers. We get information through these works that the Shaikh himself participated in the first battle of

Panipat from the side of Ibrahim Lodi. He never hesitated in pointing out to these rulers any mistake committed by them. His letters are great evidence of this fact. We also come to know through his works about Babar's early difficulties in India.

The *Gulzar-i Abrar*, a biographical dictionary of the Sufis, compiled by Mohammad Ghauthi Shattari, also provides interesting information about the socio-political trends of the period. Most of the saints mentioned in this work belong either to Gujrat or Malwa. It is dedicated to Emperor Jahangir. Similarly the works of the famous Shattari saint of 16<sup>th</sup> centuries Saiyid Mohammad Ghauth of Gwalior, *Bahr-ul Hayat* and *Jawahar-i Khamsa* also help us in collecting material about the contemporary socio-political environment. He was very close to Emperor Humayun. Akbar also paid great respect to him. He often visited Agra and stayed at the Royal Court. Both Humayun and Akbar are said to have sought his advice in important matters of the Empire. The saint's works provide information in this regard. Likewise, the letters and biographical account of Shaikh Amanullah of Panipat, the most famous Sufi of the Qadiri silsilah during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, also throw light on religio-political condition of Akbar's reign. He too was very close to Emperor Akbar and never hesitated in exhorting him to follow the right path.

As mentioned earlier, it was in the closing years of the sixteenth century that the Naqshbandi silsilah reached Indian sub-continent. Its founder in our country was Khwaja Baqi Billah. Though the total period of his stay at Delhi was four years yet, he left so deep impact upon the society that the Naqshbandi order dominated the spiritual scenario of the country for next two centuries.

The Naqshbandi order originated in central Asia. Its saints particularly Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband, after whom it came to be called the Naqshbandi silsilah, and Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, maintained cordial relations with their contemporary rulers. Timur is said to have paid great respect to Khwaja Bahauddin. Accordingly, following the path of his central Asian predecessors, Khwaja Baqi Billah also attracted nobles and officials to his *Khanqah* at Delhi. Nawab Murtuza Khan, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, who was an eminent noble of Emperor Akbar, esteemly regarded the saint. He not only frequently visited the Khwaja but also financially helped him to meet the daily expanses of the *khanqah*. The *kulliyat-i-Khwaja Baqi Billah*, i.e. the collection of the poems, *malfuzat* (table-talks), and letters of the saint, contains several letters addressed to Shaikh Farid Bukhari. The Khwaja on various occasions acknowledged this Mughal noble's support to him. We also find the names of Mahabat Khan and Mirza Aziz Koka to have been mentioned in the Khwaja Baqi Billah's works in praiseworthy manners. Some other nobles also regarded the saint. We find material about them in the Khwaja's *Kulliyat*. The saint, who died in 1603 AD does not seem satisfied with the religio-political atmosphere in India in general and at Akbar's court in particular. Therefore, his letters and *malfuzat* provide valuable information in this regard as well.

Khwaja Baqi Billah's Chief Khalifa and spiritual successor Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi holds very special position in the annals of Islam in India. He played important role in disseminating the ideology and practices of the Naqshbandi silsilah in the country. Jahangir has said in his *Tuzuk* that Shaikh Ahmad's followers and disciples were found in every city and town of the Mughal Empire. Like his mentor he too was deeply perturbed at the religious

experiments of Akbar. It was during the closing years of Akbar that Sirhindi established close contacts with eminent Mughal nobles through correspondence. He also addressed Emperor Jahangir, who, for about a year, got him imprisoned in Gwalior fort. These letters, known as the *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, hold significant position in Muslim mystical literature and provide lot of information on religio-mystical themes. These also reflect the socio-political environment of Akbar and Jahangir's reign. We find many things related to social and political development of the saint's time. It may be said in nutshell that the letter of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi are inseparably related to the circumstances in which these were written. These run into three volumes. Shaikh Ahmad's other works, particularly *Ithbat-un Nabuwwah*, also help us to some extent in understanding the religio-political condition of Akbar's reign.

Moreover, the biographical accounts of Khwaja Baqi Billah, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and their followers also are of great value. The *Zubdat-ul Maqamat* of Khwaja Hashim Kishmi is the earliest available authority for these saints. It contains valuable details. At several places he refers to the information he directly received from Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Similarly the next important contemporary Persian work on the Naqshbandis of the Mughal period is the *Hazarat-ul Quds* of Badruddin Ibrahim Sirhindi. It also provides valuable information of socio-political condition of Akbar and Jahangir's reign. Likewise, the letters of Shaikh Ahmad's sons, Khwaja Mohammad Masum and Khwaja Mohammad S'aid, are also of historical significance. The collections of these letters, entitled the *Maktubat-i M'asumiya*, and the *Maktubat-i S'adiya*, contain many letters addressed to different religious, social and political personalities of the seventeenth century. These letters also reflect the socio-

political environment of the period. The socio-political impact of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Khwaja Baqi Billah on the posterity can also be studied in these letters. Emperor Aurangzeb was greatly inspired by the mystical thought of these sons of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Therefore, the letter of both of them provide information in this context. Besides, the *Rauzat-ul Qaiyyumiya* of Kamaluddin Mohammad Ehsan is also an important source of our study. It provides some valuable pieces of information about the social and political events to have taken place during the seventeenth century.

Among the works of and on the Qadiri saints of the seventeenth century, the *Sakinat-ul Auliya* of Prince Dara Shikoh, holds an extraordinary position in the sufi literature of the time. Mainly providing the biographical details of Shaikh Miyan Mir of Lahore and his *Khalifas*, particularly Mulla Shah of Kashmir. The *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, also informs of the contemporary Mughal ruler's inclination towards Miyan Mir. Dara Shikoh's other works also are of great significance.

It was during the time of Shahjahan that several other sufi works were produced such as *Mirat-ul Asrar* of Shaikh Abdul Rahman Chishti, *Maarij-ul wilayat* of Abdullah Khweshgi Qusuri, *Majma-ul Auliya* of Mir Ali Akbar Hussaini, *Kalimat-us Sadiqin* of Shadiq Hamdani, *Jawahar-i Faridi* of Ali Asghar bin Shaikh Maudud, *Risalat-ush Shuhada* of Pir Mohammad Shattari, *Manaqib-ul Hazarat* of Mohammad Amin Badakhshi, *Safinat-ul Auliya* of Dara Shikoh, *Sahibiya* of Princes Jahan Ara, etc. If deeply studied all these works supply interesting information about the contemporary socio-political life. In the same manner, the letters and other philosophical works of Shah



Muhibullah Allahabadi also provide significant information about the subject. He maintained close relations with Dara Shikoh. Naturally the Socio-political environment of his time is clearly seen in his works.

We find another sufi who flourished in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and belonged to the Qadiri order. He was Shah Abdul Razzaq of Bansa, a small town in the Barabanki district near Lucknow. He too exerted influence on the *ulama*. The founder of the Firangi Mahal School, Mulla Nizamuddin, was spiritually affiliated to Shah Abdul Razzaq and wrote his biography entitled *Manaqib-i Razzaqiya*. This work also reflects, to some extent, the contemporary social and political life.

Accordingly, it may be said that Sufi literature of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries reflect complete socio-political environment of the period. This literature may be held as significant source on the history of the period. As no research work has been done in this regard, this Sufi literature needs to be critically examined so that a clear picture of the socio-political life of the period may be brought to light.

The present research work fulfils this need to great extent. This thesis entitled **“Socio-political life in India during 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries as reflected in the Sufi Literature”** consists of an Introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter **“Eminent Sufis of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries”** covers a brief history of Sufis and Sufism during the period whereas the chapter second **“Sufi Works of the period”** provides detailed information about the works produced during our period of study. The third chapter deals with the **“Development of spiritual thought”**. An attempt has been made in

the fourth chapter to bring to light the “**social life**” with special reference to Sufis attitude towards non-Muslims. The fifth chapter is about the “**political life**” of the period in which Sufis relations with the state have been discussed. There is a conclusion as well in which the significance of the sufi literature of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries as source of our socio-cultural history has been discussed. The thesis also contains a selected bibliography.

## Chapter I

# *Eminent Sufis of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*

## Chapter – I

### EMINENT SUFIS OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup>-17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

#### (I) Chishtis

The most distinguished chishti saint at the advent of the sixteenth century was Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi. He belongs to the Sabiriya branch of the chishti silsilah. Shaikh Abdul Quddus received *khilafat* from the succeed his *pir* Shaikh Muhammad, the grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haqq of Rudauli. He himself resided there but in 1491 he migrated to Shahabad near Ambala in eastern Punjab where he lived for about thirty years. Finally, in 1526, he shifted to Gangoh where he died in a ripe old age in 1537. He was a good terms with Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He also maintained cordial relations with Emperors Babur and Humayun. Among his work *Anwar-al uyun*, *Risalah-i Qudsiya*, *Rushd Nama*, *Gharib-al Fawaid* and *Mazhar al-Ajaib* are very famous. He also wrote a commentary on Ibn Arabi's *Fusus-al Hikam*. The collection of his letters *Maktubat-i Quddusiya* also deserves special mentions.<sup>1</sup>

The ancestors of Shaikh Jalal were from Balkh. Geneologically, he was a Faruqi and born about 1469-70. By the age of eight he memorized the *Quran* and by seventeen his education had been completed. He began his career as a teacher and gradually emerged as Mufti issuing *Fatwas* based on verses of the *Quran*. Turning to spirituality, he renounced his profession and joined the discipline of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi. Shaikh Jalal died on 9 January, 1582. He wrote a treatise on revenue administration to illustrate the rulings on that subject of the Hanafite Law makers. Another of his work *Irshad-ut talibin*

was a guide to mystics. It advised those entering the mystical life to discover a perfect and conscientious guide with a faultless perception of the *Sharia*, *Tariqa* and *Haqiqa*. He too was a expert of *puss-i unfass* the breath control.<sup>2</sup>

Shaikh Jalal was succeeded by his son in-law and Khalifa Shaikh Nizamuddin bin Shaikh Abdush shakur, who was an accomplished scholar and teacher of the *Wahdat-al wujud*. He wrote the commentaries on the *sawanih* of Ahmad al Ghazali, and *Lamat* of Iraqi, a commentary on the *Quran*. He also completed the treatises entitled *Risala-i Haqiqat* and *Risala-i Balkhiyya*.

According to Abdullah Khweshgi, Shaikh Nizamuddin was an expert on the *Sharia*, *Tariqa*, *Haqiqa* and *Maarifa*. He was also an authority on the question of conversion of baser metals to Gold (*Kimiya*), and all the sources of Gold known only to the ‘world of mystery’ (ghayb) had been revealed to him. As his expenditure greatly exceeded his resources he was assumed to be an alchemist and the Emperor Jahangir, jealous of this suspected power, exiled him to Mecca. After yet another pilgrimage he returned to India, going straight to Burhanpur. Although he was warmly welcomed by Shaikh Isa Sindhi and his disciples, Shaikh Nizam decided to move on to Balkh.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Abu Said Chishti Sabiri Gangohi, a grandson of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, was also a famous follower of Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari. In his youth Shaikh Abu Said was in the service of Army. But developing interest for mystical life, he soon gave of his job, and joined the discipline of Shaikh Jalal. But the later transferred him, for spiritual training to Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari, when Shaikh Nizam settled in Balkh, Abu Said visited him there. After his returned to Gangoh, he was assigned the duty to Impress Shaikh Abu

Said conferred his khilafat on his several murids, one of his khalifas, Shaikh Ibrahim, remained in Saidpur near Gangoh, another Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim was in Saharanpur and Shaikh Khwaja was in Panipat. Shaikh Muhibullah Mubariz of Allahabad was born in 1588 at Sadrapur, near Allahabad. He then visited Rudauli where he became a friend of Shaikh Abdur Rahman chishti. According to Abdur Rahman his teachings convinced many learned Ulama who were initially hostile on the doctrine of the *Wahdat-ul wujud* of its validity. Although Shaikh Muhibullah could number among his admirers a prince Dara Shukoh, throughout his stay in Allahabad he encountered considerable obstacles through the enmity of the orthodox ulama and the opposition of philosophers (such as Mulla Mahmood Jaunpuri) to the *Wahdat-ul wujud*.

During the reign of Shahjahan opposition on a philosophical basis to the entire sufi movement and to ideas associated with the *Wahdat-ul wujud* was centred around Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri and his disciples. Philosophic and intellectual arguments were stressed, as opposed to the mystic and ecstatic ideal. Only two Sufis were singled out by Shaikh Muhibullah as being opposed to the *Wahdat-ul wujud*. These were Shaikh Alauddaula Simnani and Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. Shaikh Muhibullah had produced a book entitled *Manazir-i Akhass-ul Khawass*, which outlined the main teachings of Ibn Arabi. The three pillars for a believer in wahdat were outlined in the 'Seh-Rukni'. Among other works written by him are *Ghayat-ul ghayat*, *Maghalit-al amma*, *Sirr-ul Khawass*, *Turq-ul khawass*, *Ibadat-i Akhass-ul Khawass* and *Risala-i wujud-i Mutlaq*. His Makatib contains a fine defence of wahdat theories. Although reportedly Aurangzeb took grave exception to the work, this

was probably due to the Shaikh's intimate relations with Dara Shukoh, since Aurangzeb a scholar of some standing, could not possibly have seen the work as anything but a restatement of the *Fusus-al Hikam*.

Shah Abul Maali Chishti Sabiri was one of the outstanding Khalifas of Shaikh Dawud, his education became the responsibility of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq and his spiritual training was finally completed under Shaikh Dawud. A khalifa of Shaikh Dawud was Shaikh Sundha. Shaikh Abdul Mumin, the father of Shaikh Sundha was a Jagirdar from Saharanpur, Saiyid Muhammad said, also known as Saiyid Miran Bhikh Chishti Sabiri, was the Khalifa of shah Abul Maali and was prominent among eighteenth century Chishtiyas in the Delhi-Saharanpur Region.

One of the Khalifas of Miran Bhikh Shah Bahlul Barki Chishti Sabiri, an Afghan, was a prolific writer. He lived at Jalandhar and also obtained training from Shah Bulaq Qadiri of Lahore. He wrote works on Sufism, his main achievement being commentaries on the *Diwan* of Hafiz. A number of disciple, Sabha Chand, who wrote under the name of Nadir Shah Lutfullah of Ambala disciple of Miran Shaikh, wrote a book called the *Samrat-ul Fuad* on the miracles of Miran Bhikh.<sup>4</sup>

One of Delhi's most significant chishtis was Shaikh Abdul Aziz bin Hasan Tahir was born at Jaunpur in 1492-93. Trained by Miyan Qazi Khan, he became a very strict adherent to such traditional Chishtiya beliefs as trust in God and practices such as self mortification. Among the Shaikhs disciples was Shaikh Abdul Ghani of Badaun. He migrated to Delhi where he was given a minor position by the Governor, Tatar Khan. In 1595-96 Mirza Abdur Rahim

Khan-i-khanan visited his khanqah and the Shaikh, on the Khan-i-Khana's request for council urged him to follow strictly the laws of the *Sharia*. Shaikh Chain Laddah of Suhna (twenty-five miles from Delhi in Rewari) was another Khalifa of Shaikh Abdul Aziz. Akbar invited him to his court at Fatehpur Sikri and assigned him quarters near the *Ibadat khana*. Occasionally the emperor would hold private discussion with him in the night and witness his *Namaz-i Makus*.<sup>5</sup>

The most prominent Chishtiyya to contribute to the classical musical traditions established by Amir Khusraw of Delhi was Shaikh Bahauddin bin Alaaddin from Barnawa in Jhanjhana, near Delhi, one of his ancestors, Shaikh Badruddin bin Sharafuddin Ansari had settled in Delhi and founded a school near the Minara-i-Shamsi (*Qutub-Minar*). Later he became the disciple of Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Delhi.

Shaikh Badruddin's successor, Shaikh Nasiruddin, migrated to Shaikhupura Rapri, in the Mainpuri district east of Delhi. His son Shaikh Pir Buddhan, became the pir of Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur. Shaikh Pir Buddhan was a wrestler, an archer and above all else, a great patron of musician. The Shaikh's fame soon turned Rapri into an important centre for both Persian and Indian music. In Sultan Sikandar Lodi's reign the peaceful life of Shaikh pir Buddhan was disturbed by the Afghan invasion of the reign. Although the Shaikh wished to migrate to Herat, and back to Barnawa where they finally settled.<sup>6</sup>

Shaikh Fariduddin bin Shaikh Bayazid Bin Shaikh pir Buddhan founded a village called Shaikhupura near Barnawa where he built a *Jamaat khana*, a



*khanqah* and a *Mosque*, artisans and peasants from surrounding villages. Eminent Hindu and Muslim musicians continually called on Shaikh Bahauddin at Shaikhupura, among them Naik Harkaran, Naik Harnath, Naik Chirju, Naik Sahun Ilahdad Rababi (a performer on the rebeck), Sudhar Rababi, Bazu Rababi, Bhagwan Rababi, Parbin Khan Binkar (harpist) and Karbin Khan. The famous singer and musician, Nilkanth, often discussed intricate aspects of music with the Shaikh and was greatly impressed with his talent. Although the Shaikh only heard one musical recital by the celebrated Tansen. He ordered his son to serve the Shaikh as a servant and then proceeded to send him a gift of twenty-five *Ashrafis* (Gold coins) annually. Shaikh Bichchu and his disciples, Makhu and Hamza of Patna, were also among Shaikh Bahauddin's many admirers.

The Shaikh composed his own *jikris* (zikrs) in praise of the fourth caliph Ali and the spiritual ancestors of Khwaja Muinuddin. Although he was an enthusiastic lecturer on the innovations of Amir Khusraw, the Shaikh considered the *dhurpad*<sup>7</sup> of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior (1486-1516) to be a retrograde step in the history of Indian music and ultimately harmful to its classical forms. He invented new tunes for the *Bishunpads*<sup>8</sup> in keeping with the verses of Kabir and Surdas, but rejected the more common Bishunpad tunes of Hindu Bairagis and urged his musicians to do likewise. In spite of this local Vaishnavites and Bairagis frequently visited him to recite their verses of Kabir.

The rise of Fatehpur Sikri on the ridge of the sikri hills as a great sufic centre in Northern India and its establishment as the new Mughal capital was a direct result of the spiritual eminence of Shaikh Salim bin Bahauddin Chishti.

Shaikh Salim's ancestors were descendants of Baba Farid, he was born in 1479-80.<sup>9</sup> In the reign of Bahlul Lodi (1451-1489), Shaikh Salim's parents migrated to Sikri. In 1524-25 Shaikh Salim began to pilgrimage to Mecca and visiting Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran, returning to Sikri in 1537-38. The Shaikh married a number of times and had a large family. After the birth on 30 August, 1569 of prince Salim Akbar's long awaited son and heir, believed to be the result of Shaikh Salim's prayers. In the exuberance of the moment he ordered a satellite town to connect with Agra to be built on the Hills of Sikri, later called Fatehpur Sikri. Under the Salim personal supervision a splendid *Mosque* and *khanqah* were built into a complex. After his death on 14 February 1572, some of the Shaikhs numerous sons and grandson continued in service to Akbar and Jahangir and were rewarded for their loyalty with high Mansabs.

Shaikh Salim's disciples included Shaikh Husain Ahmad Chishti, a former disciple of Shaikh Aman Panipati, who was an excellent Calligrapher. His signed inscriptions on the base of the façade of the *Buland Darwaza* are superb and merited him a distinguished place in the history of Arabic Calligraphy in India.<sup>10</sup>

Shaikh Hajji Husain Chishti died in 1591-92, and was buried to the south-west of the tomb now known as Islam Khan's tomb. Shaikh Taha Chishti was appointed his Khalifa at Ahmadabad. When Akbar was at Fatehpur Sikri in 1573, the defeated Sultan Mujaffar of Gujarat rebelled against him for the second time. Reportedly the Sultan visited the Shaikh and asked him to dress him in his armour as sign that he blessed him. The Shaikh replied that God had assigned Gujarat to Akbar and therefore he had no power to interfere. The

Sultan threatened to have the mystic killed before Akbar arrived, but finally agreed to wait a week before ordering his execution. Akbar marched from Fatehpur on 23 August 1573, and reached Ahmadabad, some 600 miles away, eleven days later, killing Muzaffar on 2 September 1573. Saiyid Muzammil, the son of Hajji Abdul Wahhab, seems to have entered Shaikh Salims discipleship after his pirs return from his first pilgrimage tour. On his pirs instructions, he served for a short period in the army of Sher Shah Sur during his Gwalior campaign.<sup>11</sup>

Shaikh Bhikari, at Shah Numan's suggestion he settled in Burhanpur where he established his own *khanqah*. Sultan Ali Adil Shah I (1538-1580) of Bijapur was an enthusiastic devotee of Shaikh Bhikari one of Shaikh Bhikari's Khalifas, Shah Mansur, was a *Majzub* (Ecstatic). The son of Malik Jalal, his grandfather was a former Prime Minister of Ali Adil Shah. When in such ecstatic states he would compose verses Burhanpur bazaar naked. Apparently Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat (1526-37) discovered Shah Mansur roaming in the Bazaar of burhanpur. The ruler tried to converse with him but the Shah ran towards the tomb of Shaikh Bhikari.

The reputation of the chishtiyya centre in Burhanpur was also enhanced by Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlullah, whose ancestors came from Jaunpur. He obtained his spiritual education from Shaikh Safi Gujarati training in theology under Shaikh Wajihuddin. In the reign of Miran Muhammd II, son of Mubarak Shah II, the Faruqi Sultan of Khandesh, Shaikh Muhammad moved to Asirgarh before finally settling at Burhanpur, each year he divided his accrued futuh into there, giving one to his family, the other to the dervishes of his *Khanqah* and

the third to the needy of Medina.<sup>12</sup> Shaikh Isa Sindhi, who uninhibitedly lectured on the *Fusus-al Hikam* the *Futuh-at al Makkiyya* and the *Insan-al Kamil*. In a short work, *Al tuhfa al-mursala ila ruh-al Nabi* written in Arabic, Shaikh Muhammad outlined the main points of the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, which he spiritedly defended.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries Jaunpur and the regions between Lucknow and Allahabad continued to enjoy pre-eminence as Chishtiyya centers. Shaikh Maruf Jaunpuri and his pir Maulana Ilahdad (a scholar famous for his commentaries on the work of fiqh), were amongst prominent Chishtiyya Sufis who were members of the Silsilah of Razi Hamid Shah of Manikpur. Shaikh Nizamuddin, a khalifa of Shaikh Maruf. His pir appointed him his Khalifa in Amethi in the Lucknow district. The Shaikh led a retired life in the village of Amethi (now in the Amethi district in U.P.), visiting surrounding towns such as Gopamau, Khairabad and Fatehpur.

The Shaikh disapproved of sufi novices studying the *Fusus-al Hikam*. Such classics on Sufism as the *Ihya al-uhyan* of Ghazali, the *Awarif-al Maarif* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, the *Risala al-Makkiyya* of Shaikh Imam Qutbuddin Abdullah and the *Adab al-Muridin* of Shaikh Abun Najib as Suhrawardi.

In 1571-2, Shaikh Nizam died, his successor was his son Miyan Shaikh Muhammad, one of the latter's disciples was Shaikh Mustafa Abdul Hamid Usman, who lived in the Barauna in Jaunpur, where he was very well known. In his old age Shaikh Mustafa migrated to Purniya in Bengal where he died.

Shaikh Sufi was also a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin of Amethi. After the death of his pir, Shaikh Sufi moved to Gujarat and studying the *Fusus al-*

*Hikam* and the *Futuh-at-al Makkiyya* under Shaikh Wahihuddin Gujarati, the leading figure among the disciples of Shaikh Sufi was Shaikh Halim Ibrahimabadi, who mastered the *Fusus-al Hikam* under his pir. Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti, was taught by Shaikh Halim and also knew Shaikh Sufi. The Emperor Jahangir was highly impressed by the scholarship of Shaikh Sufi, believing him to be an expert in History, biographical literature and Sufic works and appointed the Shaikh prince Khurram's tutor. In the morning the Shaikh would instruct the prince in history from such works as the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, and in the evening would tutor him in mysticism and theology.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the most famous chishtiyya sufi in Lucknow was Shaikh Abdul Jalil claiming that he had no pir and had received training directly from the spirit of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, the *Shajra* (family tree of sufi geneology). He advised Sufis who were imbued with their own self importance to commence their Zikr with the divine names of *Jalal* (majesty) such as *Al-qahhar* (the dominant), *Al-jabbar* (the repairer), *Al-matakabbir* (the great), *Al-malik* (the king), *Al-quddus* (the Holy), *Al-alim* (the knower), he died in 1633-34.

In Unnao (U.P.), a prominent Afghan Shaikh Jalaluddin Kasi, a member of the Afghan Kasi tribe. He held a high post in the Afghan government under Sher Shah Sur. After the downfall of the Afghans and the restoration of the Mughals to the throne, Jalaluddin Kasi decided to renounce the world and moved to Bangarmau in Unnao where he joined the *Khanqah* of Shah Muhammad Chishti. These nocturnal habits severely hampered local thieves who operated around this area. Shaikh jalal proved such a threat to their activities that in 1604-05 they murdered him.

Maulana Shaikh Ahmad Shuryani, the grandfather of Shaikh Abdullah Khweshgi Chishti, the author of the *Maarij-ul wilayat* was a leading sufi and *Alim*. He had been educated and subsequently initiated into the Chishtiyya order by Shaikh Ishaq bin Shaikh Kaku Chishti of Lahore, a descendant of Baba Farid. The Ulama of Lahore held Maulana Shaikh Ahmad in some awe and such outstanding Sufis as Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi Sirhindi (the Mujaddid), Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi, Shaikh Isa Sindhi and Shaikh Abdul Latif Burhanpuri were also deeply impressed by his spiritual eminence.

The greatest Chishtiyya in the early sixteenth century in Gujarat was, however, Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti bin Shaikh Ahmad, popularly known as Shaikh Miyanji born in 1523, he was only five or six when a sufi called Shaikh Jamaluddin Jumman Chishti appointed him his successor. Shaikh Muhammad Ali, the son of Shaikh Nur Bakhsh initiated him into the Qadiriyya, Nur Bakhshiyya, Taifuriyya and other orders, sultan Muhammad III (1543-1554) assigned him several villages, whose income the Shaikh invested in the construction of a Mosque inside Ahmadabad city near Shahpur Gate completed in 1565 at a cost of 100,000 Rs. The author of a commentary on the Quran entitled the *Tafsir-i Muhammadi* died on 1575.

Shaikh Hasan Muhammad's second son, Shaikh Muhammad Chishti. The occupation of Gujarat by the Mughals in 1573 had diminished the fortunes of the Shaikh's family but he refused to accept the old grants revived by Akbar and destroyed such farmans from the Sultans of Gujarat as were in his possession. Later he began to live outside the city on the Banks of the river Sabarmati, coming to his *Khanqah* only on Fridays to offer congregational

prayers. At Jahangir's request he went to see him in Ajmer and reluctantly accepted the grant of a village for his expenses in the name of his sons in 1617-18 he again called on the Emperor during a visit to Gujarat on 5 November 1630, the Shaikh died.<sup>13</sup>

Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, son of Haji Nurullah, who revived the glory and respect which the Chishtiyyas had enjoyed in Delhi during the days of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Born in Shahjahanabad (also known as Jahanabad or Delhi) on 24 June 1650, his ancestors had come from Khujand. His grandfather Shaikh Ahmad Mimar, was a Mathematician and an Engineer. He designed the Taj Mahal at Agra and the Red Fort in Delhi. Ahmad's third sons, Ataullah, Lutfullah, Hajji Nurullah, were also Mathematicians and Engineers. Nurullah was also a Calligrapher. In his youth Shah Kalimullah was believed to have fallen in love with a Khattri boy from Burhanpur who proved indifferent to the smitten Kalimullah. The following day the Khattri boy did indeed fall in love with the Shah, who soon tired of his new lover, however, and developed instead a fascination for the *Majzub*. Although Shaikh Yahya initiated Shah Kalimullah into three orders (the Chishtiyya, the Suhrawardiyya and the Qadiriyya), honouring the preference of his pir, the Shaikh remained basically a Chishtiyya.<sup>14</sup>

According to Shah Kalimullah, breath control was of two types. *Habs-i Nafs* (breath suspension) and *Hasr-i Nafs* (breathing below the normal rate). Shah Kalimullah acknowledged that Sufis had borrowed *Habs-i Nafs* and other similar practices from yogis, who were expert in the art, according to Shah Kalimullah, out of the eighty four yoga postures, Shaikh Bahauddin Qadiri

recommended the following to his disciples. After the death of Shah Kalimullah the direction and care of his Delhi *Khanqah* fell to his son. The most outstanding of his Khalifas, however, was Shaikh Nizamuddin of Aurangabad, whose ancestors were descended from Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. Shaikh Nizam was born at Kakori in the Lucknow district in 1650-51. The progress of the Shaikh was rapid and several years before the Emperor Aurangzebs death, Shah Kalimullah appointed Shaikh Nizamuddin his Khalifa for the whole of the Deccan. The Shaikh lived within the imperial camp, finally settling in Aurangabad. Shah Kalimullah admitted that the duties of working in the Mughal camp where the soldiers and royal family were devoted to the Naqshbandiyyas were arduous, requiring fact, equanimity and patience.<sup>15</sup>

People from all sections of the community became Shaikh Nizamuddin's disciples. The most important of the Shaikh's disciples was one of the Turanis, the member of a powerful pressure group in the Mughal government, that great champion of sunni orthodoxy, Nawab Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah (the first of the Nizams of Hyderabad, d. 1161/1748).<sup>16</sup>

Shaikh Nizamuddin was succeeded by his own son, Fakhruddin, who was later known by the title of *Maulana* (learned), his mother was a descendent of the family of Saiyid Muhammad Bunda Nawaz Gisu Daraz. Fakhruddin was born at Aurangabad in 1714-15, he was joining the military service under Nawab Nizamuddaula Nasir Jang, the son of Nawab Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah, he was freed of the attentions of devotees. After some years he resigned from the military, returning to life in a *Khanqah*, finally he was forced to move from Aurangabad to Delhi in 1751-52. He resumed teaching in his seminary at



*Katra-phulel* and has a Khanqah added, although the whole complex was still known as the *Madrasa* (seminary) of Maulana Fakhruddin. Even the Emperor, his princes, nobles and the ladies of the Royal family became the Maulana's devotees. Ghaziuddin Khan firuz Jang III, the son of Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang II, was another prominent close disciple and life long admirer of the Maulanas. He led the funeral prayers for Mirza Jan-i-janan Mazhar, murdered by a shii assassion. The Ruhilla chief, Nawab Zabita Khan, was also sincerely devoted to the Maulana and the Chishti shrines.<sup>17</sup>

Sources say of another chishti saint of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi, occupies significant place amongst them.<sup>18</sup> Throughout his life, he was held for his deep knowledge in traditional, rational and mystical sciences and learnings. He was the illustrious, father of the great Naqshabandi sufi scholar of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, popularly known as *Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani*. Although sources do not supply any information of Shaikh Abdul Ahad's early life, it appears from the works of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's that Shaikh Abdul Ahad was born in 927 A.H./1520-21 A.D. at Sirhind in Punjab.<sup>19</sup> He was a descendant of the Second Pious Caliph Umar Al-Khattab.<sup>20</sup> His father Shaikh Zain Al-Abidin was a pious and spiritual personality. Shaikh Abdul Ahad spent his boyhood and started education in Sirhind. First he memorized the Holy *Quran* and then received lessons in Islamic sciences. He had not yet completed his education that he developed interest in mysticism. Accordingly, to fulfill his spiritual desire, he wandered about place to place and ultimately reached in the feet of Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh to become his murid.<sup>21</sup> But the latter refusing his request advised him first to complete his education and then to approach him for this purpose.

Shaikh Abdul Quddus, on this occasion, remarked, “illiterate sufi is like the delicious food but without salt”. Shaikh Abdul Ahad, thereupon, submitted that the Shaikh Abdul Quddus was so old aged and weak that he doubted whether he would survive upto the completion his (Abdul Ahad’s) education. Shaikh Abdul Quddus asked Abdul Ahad that in this situation he should join the mystic discipline of his son Shaikh Ruknuddin.<sup>22</sup>

Abdul Ahad, therefore, returned to Sirhind and after completing his education in due course, started teaching religious science. Afterwards, he again went to Gangoh to be a murid of Shaikh Abdul Quddus. Shaikh Abdul Quddus had really passed away. The former, therefore, joined the fold of the saint’s son Shaikh Ruknuddin<sup>23</sup> and received training into the Chishtiya and Qudiriya orders. The latter also bestowed his *khilafat* on him.<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, in 979 A.H./1581 A.D. Abdul Ahad returned to Sirhind where he spent his time in prayer and meditation, and teaching his students.<sup>25</sup> Abdul Ahad, since his very youth, was very much fond of making travels to different places to meet and benefit from *Ulama* and *Mashaikh*, and preach sufi teachings. He accordingly visited many cities and towns with this purpose in mind. He went to Rohtas in Punjab to obtain blessings of its saints, particularly an old aged Sufi Shaikh Ilahtad. He learnt the secrets of spirituality from him.<sup>26</sup> According to the *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, Shaikh Ilahtad laid great emphasis on *zikr-i Ilahi* (remembrance of God). During his stay at Rohtas, Abdul Ahad Faruqi, came into contact with another eminent and pious scholar of religious sciences Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Fakhr<sup>27</sup>, and studied under him.<sup>28</sup>

Abdul Ahad also went to Bengal to find out *Ulama* and *sufis* of the region. There he met a saint Shaikh Burhan who showed deep love and

affection to the former and even requested him to stay with him for some more time but our saint could not make the compliance.<sup>29</sup> It was during his return from Bengal that he made a sojourn at Jaunpur to meet the Sufis and the Ulama of the city. There he visited the shrine of the famous dervish Shaikh Badruddin Jaunpuri.<sup>30</sup> He also called on the latter's Khalifa Syed Ali Qiwan<sup>31</sup> and benefited from his spirituality.<sup>32</sup>

The *Zubdat-al Maqamat* reveals that in his old age, Shaikh Abdul Ahad, alongwith his son Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, also visited Lahore where he benefitted from several scholars, *Ulama* and *mashaikh*.<sup>33</sup> It is also reported that in 998 A.H./1590 A.D. the saint also visited Agra where his son Ahmad Sirhindi was staying in those days.<sup>34</sup> But soon he returned to Sirhind with his son.<sup>35</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Shaikh Abdul Ahad, taught Islamic sciences, both traditional and rational, in his ancestral seminary in Sirhind. A number of students from different regions and states studied there Islamic learnings under his guidance. The Makhdum had complete mastery over different branches of religious knowledge, Quranic sciences, Hadith and jurisprudence (*fiqh*).<sup>36</sup> He was called Abu Hanifa of his time. Many of the contemporary ulama accepted him as their teacher.<sup>37</sup> He taught Sufism and mystical sciences to his students very profoundly and sincerely.

Abdul Ahad along with his spiritual pursuits and sufi practices, also produced different works on different aspects of Islam and Sufism. Two of his treatises are found mentioned in the *Zubdat-al Maqamat*. One of them, the *Asrar-al Tashahhud*, is of great significance.<sup>38</sup> Dealing with the Nocturnal Journey (the *M'eraj*) of the Prophet of Islam, this work sheds light on its

religious and spiritual backgrounds. Written in Arabic language, the treatise provides scholarly discussion.<sup>39</sup>

Then he discusses the Importance of invoking God's Blessing to the Prophet of Islam and comes to the conclusion that the result of this journey (*Me'raj*) is *namaz*, the Islamic way of God's prayer. Therefore, the basis of the spiritual upliftment of a sufi is nothing but *namaz* and it is undoubtedly the peak of Islamic spirituality.

The saint wrote another work *Kunuz-al Haqaiq*. Discussing different aspects of Sufism, it throws immense light on various Spiritual points and problems. In short, all his brochures and treatises bear testimony to his deep insight in Islamic learnings and scholarship.<sup>40</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Ahad maintained cordial relations with several contemporary Ulama and Sufis. His terms with Shaikh Jalaluddin Thanesari, a khalifa of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, were cordial. He frequently visited the latter at Thanesar and sometime stayed with him for several days to benefit from his spiritual greatness.<sup>41</sup> It was during his stay there that once he came into contact with the eminent saint of the Qadiri Silsilah, Shaikh Kamal Qadiri of Kethal.<sup>42</sup> They became so intimate that they frequently visited and stayed with each other for weeks and months.<sup>43</sup> It is mentioned in the *Zubdat al-Maqamat* that Shaikh Kamal was staying at Sirhind when Abdul Ahad's son, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, was born in 971 A.H./1563 A.D. The Makhdum had so deep faith in Shaikh Kamal that on this occasion he sought his blessings in favour of the newly born child.<sup>44</sup> Abdul Ahad is also said to have friendly relations with another sufi of his time, Shaikh Abdul Ghani came from Sonipat in Punjab, he was widely known for his *Kashf* and *Karamat* the manifestations

and the miracles. The former, since long, was desirous to see him. When on one occasion, he came to Sirhind, Abdul Ahad extended a warm welcome and took him to his residence.<sup>45</sup> Abdul Ahad led a simple but attractive life. He generally lived in Sirhind during the last years of his life by mostly passing his time either in prayer and meditations, or in teaching his students particularly, his son Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Tasawwuf Sufism, and its minute points and problems were discussed between him and the latter. Shaikh Abdul Ahad died on Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> Jamada I, 1007 A.H./6<sup>th</sup> December, 1598 A.D. at Sirhind at the ripe age of eighty years.<sup>46</sup> The author of the *Zubdat al-Maqamat* expressing his faith for the saint, says in a couplet : “That Shaikh was scholar of all sciences. His life was the mine of the pearl of secret of the creation of the Universe. As he was the Shaikh of his time in his learnings and activities, the chronogram of his death must be said as the *Shaikh-i Zaman*, i.e. the Shaikh of the time”.<sup>47</sup> He was buried in his ancestral cemetery at Sirhind. Presently situated on a half kilometer distance in the north-west of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhind's tomb. It is still visited by a large number of tourists and devotees.<sup>48</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Ahad, as a sufi, believed in the concept of *Wahdat-al Wujud* and, in this connection, followed the path of Shaikh-i Akbar Muhiyuddin Ibn Arabi.<sup>49</sup> However, he had interpreted it in his own way. He seems to have tried to maintain similarity and coincidence between the *Shariah* the laws of Islam, and the concept of *Wahdat-al Wujud* ‘the Unity of Being’.<sup>50</sup> Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi too, in one of his letters, writes that his father (Shaikh Abdul Ahad) always followed this path and was fully sunk in this ocean.<sup>51</sup> He is said to have made the remark at the last moment of his life. “In fact, Allah is absolute Entity but He keeps people veiled and away from Him by throwing the dust of the wordly garment in their eyes”.<sup>52</sup> Apart from being authorized into the Qadiriya

and the Sabiriya branch of the Chishti Silsilah by Shaikh Ruknuddin bin Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh as has been mentioned earlier.<sup>53</sup>

## (2) The Shattariyya Saints

The Shattariyya silsilah was introduced into India in the fifteenth century, by Shah Abdullah Shattari who lived for some years in Jaunpur and then went to Bengal. He made his traditional challenge to the local Sufis either to teach him or be taught by him. Shaikh Muhammad Ala, an eminent Bengali sufi, ignored the challenge, surely disappointed the Shah returned to Malwa. In 1485 the Shah died and was buried in Mandu, south of the tombs of the Khalji Sultans of Malwa.<sup>54</sup>

His Bengali Khalifa was Shaikh Muhammad Ala who was also well-known by his nickname *Qazin*. In the first half of the sixteenth century the most influential shattari Sufis in India were Shaikh Phul and his younger brother. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, both Khalifas of Shaikh Zuhur Hajji Hamid. Shaikh Phul's surname was Fariduddin Ahmad and his title was Jahangir (conqueror of the world), his most notable disciple was the Emperor Humayun who sat at his feet to learn the technique for obtaining supernatural power through the *Dawat-i-Asma*. The emperor's devotion to Shaikh Phul prompted *Sadr-us sudur* Maulana Jalaludin Tattawi, an eminent Alim and a Suhrawardi become Shaikh Phul's disciple. Reasons of expediency also prompted another eminent sufi, Maulana Muhammad Farghuli, a Naqshbandiyya, to join the Shattariyya order while large numbers of other muslims became Shattariyya Sufis, possibly to gain the Emperor's favour.<sup>55</sup> In 1538-39 while he was in Bengal, Emperor Humayun sent Shaikh Phul to

persuade his rebel brother, Mirza Hindal to join him in a war against their common enemy, the Afghans. However Mirza Hindal and his advisers rejected the proposal and the leaders of the rebel army urged Hindal to kill Shaikh Phul, this he did, afterwards openly declaring himself Emperor.<sup>56</sup>

Shaikh Phul's younger brother Shaikh Abul Muyyad Muhammad, who bore the title of Ghaus, and was popularly known as Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, met a number of saints in his quest for a perfect guide. For thirteen years and four months Shaikh Ghaus performed rigorous ascetic exercises in the caves of chunar, near the Ganges in the Modern district of Mirzapur in the U.P. and became known to the Muslim elite for his miraculous powers. He settled in Gwalior where he became very influential. In November 1526, he helped Babur's army to seize the Gwalior fort, thereby winning the respect and confidence of the Emperor.<sup>57</sup> During Humayun's reign Shaikh Phul had lived with the emperor while Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus had his own *Khanqah* at Gwalior.

He was in close contact with the Mughal emperor was Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus. When Babar's forces besieged the famous fort of Gwalior, Shaikh-i-Gwaliari sided with the invader and suggested a stratagem to the Mughal generals for the capitulation of the fort. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was obliged to surrender the fort to the besiegers.

In Gwalior Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus owned vast tracts of land which yielded about a karor of dams and livestock. The bullocks he had obtained in Gujarat were the most famous in the region. When on a hunt in 1559, Akbar visited the Shaikh's *Khanqah* in Gwalior. After presenting the Emperor with a

number of prize bullocks, the Shaikh symbolically initiated him as a shattariyya. Akbar however was more interested in the bullocks he had acquired, and the initiation incident became a huge joke in the Imperial Camp.<sup>58</sup> 10 May 1563, the Shaikh died and was buried in Gwalior.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, successor was his beloved son, Shaikh Budh Abdullah, entered the imperial military service Ghausi Shattari reported that Akbar did not wish Shaikh Budh to lead a secluded life and requested him to become a soldier, for about forty years he worked loyally in the imperial service and at one stage played the role of Ambassador to Mirza Shahrukh of Badakhshan<sup>59</sup>. The ulama of the town reacted by putting extremely difficult theological questions to the Shaikh at court but, according to Ghausi Shattari, the Shaikh defeated them in the debate. It is also recorded that local scholars received spiritual sustenance from his presence.

After his accession to the throne, Jahangir accepted Shaikh Budh Abdullah's resignation from active service because of his advanced years. The Shaikh retired to Gwalior where he spent the remainder of his life meditating and praying close to his fathers tomb. It would seem that the income from his *Jagir* and his *Madad-i Maash* grant were insufficient to meet his expenditure. Six months before his death he began refusing all food and starved himself, finally dying in 1021 AH/1612-13 AD.<sup>60</sup>

Shaikh Nur Muhammad of Champanir, a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, was a member of the sunni Bohra community of Gujarat merchant before becoming Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus disciple at an advanced age, Shaikh Nur Muhammad distributed his whole wealth which was considerable



to beggars. So impressed by this action was his pir that, after initiating him into his discipleship. Shaikh Nur Muhammad was also made a khalifa. However Shaikh retired to the corner of a Mosque. He died at Ahmadabad where he was buried.<sup>61</sup>

Shaikh Abdullah, the son of Shaikh Wajihuddin, was also a scholar and a sufi. After his father's death he took over his teaching duties. He was ascetic to the degree that he would only eat sugarcandy and a cup of syrup water. To support himself he copied manuscripts. Akbar's foster brother Mirza Aziz Koka, believed that he had gained his victory over Sorath in 999 AH/1591 AD due to the Shaikh's spiritual power.<sup>62</sup>

Another noteworthy Khalifa of Shaikh Wajihuddin's was from Bubakan village in Siwistan (sind). He was Hakim Usman bin Shaikh Ayni. Many important scholar were his disciples. In 1575-76 he migrated from Gujarat to Burhanpur. In 1599-1600 Akbar's invasion of Burhanpur prompted him to take refuge in a jungle near the village which he held as *Madad-i Maash*. There he and his dervish followers were murdered by local tribesmen.<sup>63</sup>

Shaikh Muhammad, who was known as Shaikh Taj ul-Ashiqin the son of Abdullah Sindhi, another disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Arif, was born at Burhanpur. After conquering Khandesh in 1600, Akbar imprisoned the Shaikh on the charge of supporting the sultans of Khandesh. The intercession of the Shaikh's friends, particularly of a leading noble Qulich Khan, prompted Akbar to release him at Agra. Qulich Khan took the Shaikh to Lahore where he was killed by the army of a Rebellious Rajput chief on 25 September, 1604 AD.<sup>64</sup>

Shaikh Burhanuddin refused to allow princes to visit him. Although Aurangzeb, who was famed for his orthodoxy, was viceroy of the Deccan

between 1636 to 1644 and from 1652 to 1657, the Shaikh refused to make him an exception in this respect, when Aurangzeb was preparing to March against Dara Shukoh he went to the Shaikh in disguise to be blessed by him. Shaikh Burhanuddin asked the visitor's name, and the prince answered 'Aurangzeb' simply. To this the Shaikh neither replied nor by way of blessing offered him a gift when the prince returned the following day the Shaikh angrily said that if he found his house so attractive he would vacate it and find a new abode for his dervishes and himself. Later Shaikh Burhanuddin relented and agreed that the prince could see him outside the doors of his *Khanqah* when he went for prayers, and he would recite *Fatiha* (Prayers) in order to bid him farewell.<sup>65</sup>

The author of the *Khazinat-ul Asfiya* included Shaikh Abdul Latif (d. 1066 AH /1655-56 AD) among a list of Shaikh Burhanuddin's disciples. According to Khafi Khan the Shaikh strictly adhered to the Sharia loathing *Sama* and *Music*. No marriage procession was allowed to pass by his Khanqah playing music, Aurangzeb was deeply devoted to him. Lahore was the home of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Shattari, a successor of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus disciple, Shaikh Farid of Kahirwal. He excelled other contemporary Sufis in his knowledge of the *dawat-i Asma*. At Aurangzeb's invitation he became a frequent visitor to court and his sons were given villages as *Madad-i Maash* by the Emperor. The Shaikh built an imposing mosque near his house from the proceeds of imperial gifts. His death occurred some time after 1667. Accompanied by his friends, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, the latter was another frequent visitor to Emperor Aurangzeb.<sup>66</sup>

### (3) The Qadiriyyas

The Qadiriyya order was introduced into the Indian sub-continent by Mir Nurullah bin Shah Khalilullah, a grandson of Shah Nuruddin Muhammad Nimatullah (wali) bin Abdullah. The latter, well known for his copious sufi writings in both prose and poetry<sup>67</sup>, was born in Aleppo, Syria in 730 AH/1330 AD. After the death of his pir (Abdullah al-Yafii, 697 AH/1298 AD -768 AH/1367 AD), a member of the Madyaniyya<sup>68</sup> order of Egyptian and African Sufis, Shah Nuruddin traveled through northern Iran, Samarqand, Harat and Yazd, finally settling in Mahan in the Kirman province of Iran. Soon he was to become the town's great mystic celebrity, founding the Nimatullahi order of the later shia Sufis. His descendants in India could therefore trace their spiritual geneology directly back to the Qadiriyyas because of the Shah's intimate relations with the Qadiriyyas of Iran.

The stream of honours for the Shah and his family continued unabated. Sultan Ahmad I, even married his daughter to Mir Nurullah. After Shah Nimatullah's death at Mahan in 1430-31, Shah Khalilullah joined his son in the Deccan, accompanied by his other sons, Shah Habibullah Ghazi and Shah Muhibbullah. Another royal princess was given in marriage to Shah Habibullah, and the sultan's grand daughter became the wife of Shah Muhibbullah. Shah Khalilullah attended the coronation of the Sultan's successor, Alauddin Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah II, in 839 AH/1436 AD.<sup>69</sup> According to Firishta some sources mention that Shah Khalilullah retired to Mahan, while others assert he died in the Deccan.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless his sons remained in the Deccan where under the Bahmanid sultans they continued to

enjoy considerable power and prestige. However at the end of the reign of Sultan Alauddin Humayun (862 AH/1458 AD - 865 AH/1461 AD). Shal Habibullah was executed by the Sultan because of his opposition to the monarchs cruelty and the political support he had extended to prince Hasan Khan Shah Muhibullah died some time after 900 AH/1494-95 AD in the reign of Sultan Shihabuddin Mahmud (887/1482-924/1518).<sup>71</sup>

In the second half of the fifteenth century a Qadiriyya *Khanqah* was established at Uch near Multan. Its founder, Shaikh Muhammad al Husaini al Jilani was also a direct descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir. Although Shaikh Abdul Haqq fails to mention the date of the Shaikh's final emigration he does note that his son and successor, Shaikh Abdul Qadir (also known as Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani, the second) died on October 1533 AD. He also states that his mother was the daughter of Shaikh Abul Fath, a descendant of Saiyid Safiuddin Kaziruni, the founder of the earliest known Sufi *Khanqah* in Uch. If Shaikh Muhammad had married Abdul Qadir's mother in 1456, he would therefore not have migrated to Uch any earlier.<sup>72</sup>

The new leader of the Qadiriyyas at uch was Shaikh Muhammad's eldest son, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani while a young man Abdul Qadir was obsessed with music and traveling. On his journeys, much to the disgust of his orthodox father, he would take camels loaded up with musical instruments. Shaikh Abdul Qadir was not unlike a number of other successful Sufis whose early lives had been filled with an appreciation of worldly delights and who had then suddenly undergone a conversion to mysticism. His hagiographer relates the story. While hunting in the forest Abdul Qadir heard strange and

disturbing cries from a partridge. At the same time a wandering dervish came to him telling him that soon he too would cry in anguish at his separation from God. Suddenly Abdul Qadir experienced an aversion to anything connected with the world. Later he renounced his official post as well as his beloved music and replaced them with a new, intensely mystical illumination and love of the Divine.

In 1533, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani was succeeded by his eldest son, Shaikh Abdur Razzaq, who however held the post briefly, dying on 1 Dec. 1535. His place was assumed by his son, Shaikh Hamid, who had been trained by his grandfather, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani. A great favourite with all the Muslim population in Uch, he was showered with gifts and grants which he apparently enjoyed disposing of early in Akbar's reign, the *Sadr-us sudur*, Shaikh Gadai Kamboh<sup>73</sup>, succeeded in having the Shaikh. Summoned to Agra from Uch, angered at this, the Shaikh cursed both Shaikh Gadai and his patron, Bairam Khan. At the end of March 1560, Bairam Khan fell from power and Shaikh Gadai was disgraced with him. Many Sufis and Holy men ascribed their sudden fall to being cursed by Shaikh Hamid. After his return to Multan, Shaikh Hamid died on 14 April 1571. He was buried in Hamidpur, a village of Multan.<sup>74</sup>

The succession controversy continued however in Uch and Multan. Shaikh Abdul Qadir was recognized as his father's successor. In Delhi and at Akbar's court scholars and Sufis honoured Shaikh Musa in this role and Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi, a disciple of Shaikh Musa, also describes his pir as Shaikh Hamid's successor. Shaikh Musa's life at court was fruitful as he was a loyal supporter of Akbar and a friend to the two powerful countries, Faizi

and Abul Fazl.<sup>75</sup> Early in February 1602, the Langah rebels, headed by Mahmud Langah and his son Nahar Khan, attacked Shaikh Musa Qadiri at Uch and killed him.

Although the number of Hindus mentioned by Badauni as converted by Shaikh Dawud is popularly exaggerated there seems little doubt that the miracles attributed to him prompted a number of Hindus, as well as some members of tribes close to the newly settled town of Shergarh, to embrace Islam. In 1573-74 Emperor Akbar sent Shahbaz Khan Kamboh, an orthodox sunni, to invite the Shaikh to his court. The Shaikh refused however, arguing that his secret prayers for the Emperor were sufficient for his spiritual welfare. Shaikh Dawud died in 1574-75, and was buried in Shergarh. Although Badauni incorrectly attributed to him the founding of the Qadiriyya order in India, it was the impact of Shaikh Dawud's personality and his individual spiritual achievements that swept Qadiriyya influence from the Punjab to Delhi and Agra.

Another of the leading disciples of Shaikh Dawud was Shaikh Abu Ishaq Qadiri. He also lived in Lahore and like his pir was a very popular Qadiri sufi. He died on 25 March 1577, and his burial place was the central point around which a cluster of tombs of his descendants was later built. Of Abu Ishaq Qadiri's disciples, Shah Shamsuddin Qadiri of Lahore was the most significant and Emperor Jahangir is said to have had great faith in his miraculous powers.<sup>76</sup>

Other early Qadiri Sufis of the Panjab included Saiyid Ismail Gilani, whose father, Saiyid Abdullah Rabbani was also his pir. Akbar is said to have presented him with 1000 *Bighas*<sup>77</sup> of land in Firuzpur, and the merchants of

Lahore were among his greatest followers. Nevertheless the Saiyid never allowed his devotees to disturb his strict routine of meditation and aescetic practices. Both he and his father died in the same year, 978 AH/1570-71 AD.<sup>78</sup>

The town of Pail and Kaithal, near Sirhind, became the centre of the Qadiriyya silsilah, mainly through the influence of Shaikh Kamal, a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Fuzail of Baghdad, and ultimately also of the Ghaus al-Azam. Shaikh Kamal does not seem to have been traditionally initiated by a pir and was an Uwaisi passionately fond of travelling, during his peregrinations in Thaneswar he meet Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindis father Shaikh Abdul Ahad. Shaikh Kamal, however, was basically a *Malamati* and *Majzub*. Nevertheless he was able to discuss subtle mystical problems in some depth and with authority. He died in October 1573, at Kaithal, near Sirhind. Shaikh Kamal and Shaikh Sikandar strengthened Shaikh Abdul Ahads interest in the Qadiriyyas although he had already obtained initiation into the Chishtiyya order.<sup>79</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad's friend, Shaikh Baba Dawud Khaki, was an influenced citizen of Kashmir and also a disciple of Shaikh Hamza, a distinguished Suhrawardiyya leader of Kashmir. A scholar and poet, he wrote biographies of various Kashmiri Sufis. Shaikh Baba Dawud made frequent journeys to Multan to visit the tombs of Suhrawardiyya saints but ultimately, under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad, he became a Qadiriyya. However like his former pir Shaikh Hamza he always remained hostile to the Shias. The untimely execution of a sunni leader, Qazi Musa, by the Shi'a Sultan, Yaqub Shah Chak (1586-88) alienated Baba from the Shia ruler of Kashmir and he deserted to the Mughal Emperor, Akbar who at the time was busily planning to annex Kashmir under his return to Kashmir with the Mughal forces in 1586, Baba died of dysentery.<sup>80</sup>

Attempts to establish the Qadiriyya order in the Delhi regions had begun in the reign of Sultan Sikander Lodi (894 AH/1489 AD – 923AH /1517 AD) who invited Shaikh Abul Fath bin Jamaluddin Makki Abbasi Qadiri to settle in Agra. Shaikh Abul Fath led an independent life sheltered from the intrigues surrounding the sultan and his nobles. When sultan Ibrahim Lodi set out from Delhi to repel the invasion of the Emperor Babur he took with him many eminent Sufis and *Alims*, including Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi and Shaikh Abul Fath. However, Shaikh Abul Fath deserted and fled back to Agra, where he lived until his death in September, October 1546 AD.<sup>81</sup>

In the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Saiyid Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi who claimed direct descent from Ghausul Azam, migrated from the Deccan to Agra. He became a leader of a group of Delhi Muslims. At the request of the Sultan in his war with the Emperor Babur but was unsuccessful. After Babur had mounted the throne of Delhi he allowed the Saiyid to continue living in the palaces of Firuzabad fort, near Delhi and he was even honoured by Babur's successor, Humayun. During the reign of Islam Shah Sur, the Saiyid reached the height of his fame and was treated with exaggerated deference, even the Sultan and his nobility waiting on him slavishly. One of the most truthful exponents of the *Wahdat-al Wujud* among Qadiriyyas was Shaikh Amanul'lah Panipati to whom we have already made reference. Although his name was actually Abdul Malik, he achieved fame under his title, Amanu'llah. Associated with several orders, Shaikh Amanu'llah was foremost a Qadiriyya and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud Lari, who introduced him to the *Fusus-al Hikam* and other famous works on the *Wahdat-al Wujud*. Amanu'llah must have often been present during the evenings when Shaikh Muhammad



Mawdud became filled with ecstasy, ordered all books from the room and then delivered *extempore* lectures on the Unity of Being.<sup>82</sup>

Totally involved with the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, Shaikh Aman claimed he could deliver public lectures on its principles without veiling them by the use of anecdotes or similes, and even then could fully convince his audience of the truth of his message. He also asserted that, when a sufi novice, he could use two completely acceptable arguments in defence of the *Wahdat-al Wujud* and that later the number increased to sixteen.

The author of a number of treatises on *Tasawwuf* and the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, in the *Asbat-al Ahadiyya* Shaikh Aman meaningfully reinterpreted the universality of reality and its process of encompassing the essence of phenomenal existence and embodying what was beyond existence. Tracing the history of the controversy over the *Wahdat-al Wujud* in the *Asbat-al Ahadiyya* the Shaikh quoted the Persian sufi and poet, Mawlana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi, who in his *Sharh-i Ruba'iyat* had clarified the most basic attacks on the *Wahdat-al Wujud* by its detractors. Rumi asserted that some unenlightened interpreters of sufi aphorism believed that Divine reality was infused into all existences. Such a fallacy, said the Shaikh, had arisen from a rationalization that the whole exists only in sections, which meant it was believed that God existed through His creations, depending Himself on their existence and that His attributes also depended on the attributes of created beings. To sufis like Shaikh Aman or Rumi such a view was founded on a total ignorance of the truth, and was also sheer heresy. Adherents to another wrong ideal believed that in His primordial absoluteness God was free of attributes, but the stage of his self-revelation deprived him of his former state and he infused himself into phenomenal

objects. Therefore, according to this line of thinking, the separate and transcendental existence of God remained unproven and he was known only through his emanations. Shaikh Aman fiercely believed this view also contradicted the notion of the selfrevelation of the Absolute and was not essentially different from the position of the first group.

According to Shaikh Aman the hierarchical order of *Wujud* as defined by the followers of the *Wahdat-al Wujud* merely included varying degrees of self manifestations of the Absolute. Being represented in his transcendent absoluteness, continued the Shaikh, was beyond the dichotomy of 'existence' and 'non-existence', quiddity (*mahiyya*) was not to be understood in its general sense but in the following special sense of Essence. The recurrence (*tajdid*) of creation was the revelation of the Essence, first to himself, then in a perpetual cycle of the passing away of forms. In conclusion the unknowable Essence (or God existing in Himself) was so Absolute that it was even free from the attribute of absoluteness.

Amanu'llah also wrote a detailed commentary on the *Lawa'ih* of Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami. In it he stressed that the perfection of a dervish depended on a refinement of morals, coupled with an intense devotion to Muhammad's family and their descendants. So profound was the Shaikh's own respect for Saiyids that as a lecturer he would remain standing while the children of Saiyids played in the streets outside.

Shaikh Aman, however, never founded his own *khanqah* and lived in a very humble dwelling. So scrupulous was he to avoid any form of ownership that he was constantly distributing gifts in charity. He fasted incessantly and during the night took little sleep. His excessive *zikr* and meditation often made

him neglect his obligatory prayers. When praying, he periodically found himself unable to recite beyond the fourth verse of the opening chapter of the *Qur'an* where the line, '*Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help*' would produce in him an ecstatic state. Although sick with fever, on 11 Rabi' II 957 AH/29 April 1550 AD Shaikh Amanu'llah Panipati conducted the *Urs* of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (the Ghausul Azam) and then dispensed food to the people of Delhi before collapsing and dying the following day. He was buried near the grave of his *pir*, Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud.<sup>83</sup>

Despite Shaikh Aman's general unwillingness to enrol disciples, by the time of his death these were quite numerous. Of them Shaikh Taju'd-Din Zakariyya Ajodhani was the most outstanding. Shaikh Abdul Haqq highly praises Shaikh Taju'd Din for his excellent personal qualities, as well as for his extensive knowledge of sufism and the *Wahdat-ul Wujud*.<sup>84</sup> Although he subscribed to the view held by a considerable number of Akbar's courtiers that the Emperor was the Perfect Man (as devised by Ibn 'Arabi and his followers), thereby becoming a target for the merciless ridicule of Mulla Abdul Qadir Bada'uni<sup>85</sup>, Shaikh Abdul Haqq's profound respect for Shaikh Taju'd-Din never altered.

Among other disciples of Shaikh Aman Panipati was Shaikh Saifu-d-Din, Shaikh Abdul Haqq's father. In the early days of his career as a mystic Shaikh Saifu'd-Din, had been a Suhrawardiyya. On hearing of the famous Shaikh Aman he decided to join the Qadiriyya order. Traditionally, Shaikh Aman would test the attitudes of his new disciples and Shaikh Saifu'd-Din was no exception. When asked to express his own feelings towards mysticism Shaikh Saifu'd-Din replied that he often felt the whole universe encircling him

and that he in turn encircled it. Shaikh Aman decided that an understanding of the Unity of Being was already germinating in his new disciple.<sup>86</sup>

Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's father, Shaikh Sa'du'llah, died in 928 AH/1522 AD when he was only eight years old and it would therefore seem that the former was born in 920 AH/1514 AD. His ancestors had excelled both in military and literary skills<sup>87</sup>, but Shaikh Sa'du'llah himself was basically a mystic. From his early childhood the serene and pious environment of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's home made him introspective and meditative, his ears echoed with the mystical verses of Amir Khusrau<sup>88</sup> and he witnessed the hard ascetic exercises performed by his aged father.

After his father's death despite his youth Shaikh Saifu'd-Din cared for his mother, at the same time acquiring higher literary and religious education. Although poor and sometimes starving, he continued in his dedication to learning, prayers and meditation. As a child an overpowering love of beauty was a basic inclination, although naturally he did not understand its significance. When he was about five or six he had fallen in love with a boy of the same age; when he grew older he believed the feeling of an appreciation of beauty associated with love to be natural and pure. Even in old age he had forcibly to overcome his passion for love and beauty lest they should undermine his sufi routine. As a mystic melancholy and despair periodically prompted Shaikh Saifu'd-Din to contemplate suicide. He found it difficult to accept that a large number of sufis, saints and holy men who had a strong faith in the Unity of Being were so widely considered by theologians to be misguided. Gradually his obsession with this concept filled his every moment. He saw even in the smallest particle of matter the theophany of an infinite light

and continually felt trapped by the intensity of his own mystical insight and by his earthly fetters.

Like his elder brother, Mushtaqi, Shaikh Saifu'ddin also served in the retinue of various nobles only to support himself, never for personal gain. He believed that worldly pleasure was comparable to the ephemeral enjoyment connected with nocturnal emissions which were followed by remorse. To him, opposing sides in debates each supported some part of the truth. He believed religious discussion should be free of belligerent words which merely satisfied human passions. The egocentric brawling and intriguing of the *ulama* at Akbar's court weighed heavily on the Shaikh's mind, and he was grateful to God that he was neither a scholar nor a theologian.<sup>89</sup>

When lecturing, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din used a number of analogies to persuade other mystics to see One in the many and many in the One. The Essence was infinite and the manifestation of the thousands of various aspects of His forms was subject to his will. The Light was indivisible and inseparable and even if a multitude of lamps were it from one single lamp its own light was not divided. Likewise the Divine Being was the source of the existence of all objects. In His own right He was Absolute. Self-determination (*ta'ayyunat*) of the Absolute which was divided into *mahiyya* (quiddities) was not a process which reason could comprehend using the analogy of the division of physical objects. He illustrated this by an earthen vase in which children made holes and then put in a lamp. Only the light was seen from outside; although the lamp remained unaffected. Similarly the Absolute, despite His "self-determination", retained his primordial Oneness. As regards the question whether the universe was 'from Him' (*Azu-ast*) or 'by Him' (*Badu-ast*), according to Shaikh Saifu'd-

Din the best form of expression was the former. In fact the real meaning of 'all is from Him' (*Hama-az ust*) was identical with the sense of 'all is He' (*Hama ust*). True comprehension of this subtle idea related to the heart rather than speech. With regard to expressing one's feelings about the Unity of Being, all forms of expression were of equal merit. The essential meaning behind the two expressions, 'the universe is his manifestation' and 'the universe is his creation', were identical. However, the Shaikh did admit that with maturity he preferred to refrain in public from ecstatic expressions of his youth, thus avoiding conflict with the *Shari'a*. Among fellow travellers, however, and in a hidden retreat, mystical expressions could be used.<sup>90</sup>

Allegations by jurists that *sama* bred hypocrisy the Shaikh believed to be unfounded, arguing that the listener who had lost consciousness of his own individual existence could not be guilty of hypocrisy.<sup>91</sup> He himself was an ardent listener to Persian verses and Hindi *dohas* and this *ruba'i* by Umar Khayyam (c. 412 AH/1021 AD -22-515 AH or 516/1122 AD) would invariably reduce him to tears:

In its early life this jug was madly in love,  
Crazed by the curling locks of its sweetheart.  
The handle you see at its neck,  
Had been the hand around the neck of its beloved.

Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's lectures were so emotional and expressive that often his listeners would beg him to talk on subjects which really moved them such as Divine love, the longing for God and the pangs of separation. Passages referring to threats from God in the *Qur'an* so grieved and agitated the Shaikh that in his household they were only read in hushed tones. Those filled with hope and promises were chanted out loudly. Eagerly awaiting death, during his last illness the Shaikh prayed for release for, he said, as one was already weary

after a few days spent in an inn so after seventy years of life one was naturally desperate for death.<sup>92</sup> Before he achieved his life's ambition (on 27 Sha'ban 990 AH/16 Sept. 1582 AD), Shaikh Saifu'd-Din performed the *pas-i anfas*<sup>93</sup> for he believed this was possible for sufis even after the limbs had ceased to function.<sup>94</sup>

Although Shaikh Saifu'd-Din was a poet who had taken *Saifi* as a pen-name, his verses no longer survive. However his son, Abdul Haqq, reproduced a *qasida* in praise of Shaikh Aman Panipati and another two *ghazals* by him which are in the traditional mystical style of poetry eulogizing Divine love and ascetic poverty. The *Wahdat al-Wujud* theme is also always present in what has survived. He writes,

'To the scholarly gnostics it is authoritatively known,  
That He is the *Ayn* (Essence) of the universe but is distant  
from it. Sometimes He, like a newly wedded bride hides  
His face behind a veil, Sometimes He is seen producing  
confusion, rioting and the tearing of clothes'.<sup>95</sup>

In a fit of ecstasy Shaikh Saifu'd-Din also wrote a *masnawi Silsilat-al wisal*, (Chain of Unity), in one day. Neither the *masnawi* nor a couple of other treatises, also on the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, survive; only a short extract from a treatise entitled the *Kashifat* has been preserved in the *Akhbar-ul akhyar*. This extract, pointing out the different forms of perception of the manifestations of the Absolute, re-emphasizes the reality of man as seen by the scholars of the *Wahdat-al Wujud*.<sup>96</sup>

In Sept. 1578, Akbar returned to Fatehpur Sikri after an expedition against the Rajputs and the second round of religious debates in the *Ibadat khana* and Anup Talao (tank) was resumed.<sup>97</sup> In these discussions Shaikh Abdul Nabi and Makhdumul Mulk emerged as leading rivals to each other.

During this period also the *ulama* signed the *Mahzar*. Naturally Shaikh Abdul Haqq came in touch with his pirs friends, Shaikh Abul Fazl and Faizi. He also became friendly with other dignitaries of the court. Although his pir Shaikh Musa remained a close associate of Abul Fazl and Faizi, Shaikh Abdul Haqq's enthusiastic devotion to his pir never waned. In both prose and poetry he eulogized Shaikh Musa. Shaikh Abdul haqq refused to take part in the war which was waged by *ulama* leaders, however, and was therefore regarded as being neutral to the new imperial policies.

After leaving Delhi early in 1586-87, Shaikh Abdul Haqq traveled through Malwa and Gujarat. In Ujjain he stayed with Mirza Aziz Koka, the Governor of Malwa and at Mandu was the guest of Shaikh Ghausi Shattari, the author of the *Gulzar-i Abrar*. When he reached Ahmadabad it was the wrong season for sea travel so he spent some months with Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi<sup>98</sup> There Shaikh Abdul Haqq also called on the celebrated shattari, Shaikh Wajihuddin, Shaikh Abdul Haqq showed no interest in the shattari teachings but sat instead at the feet of Shaikh Wajihuddin to learn the Qadiriyya Zikrs. Shaikh Abdul Haqq finally reached mecca sometime before Ramazan, July-August 1588 AD.

Soon after Khwaja Baqi Billah's establishment of the Naqshbandiyya Khanqah at Delhi in 1599 AD, he and Shaikh Abdul Haqq became firm friends. An authority suggests that Shaikh Abdul Haqq became the Khwajas disciple.<sup>99</sup> After Akbars sudden death on 16 Oct. 1605 AD, Shaikh Abdul Haqq hoped that the powerful dignitaries friendly to him might succeed in replacing Akbar's policy of 'peace with all' by strict sunni rule as envisaged by Ghazali.



He wrote a letter to Murtaza Khan suggesting that in the discharge of his worldly duties he should never neglect the path of the sharia.

As soon as a courtier informed Shaikh Abdul Haqq of Jahangir's interest in the *Hadish*, he wrote a short political treatise, the *Nuriyya-i Sultaniyya*. However, the Shaikh's main concern remained teaching, writing and Sufism, his Khanqah in Delhi which he built some time before 1611 and where most of his time was spent, was known as the *Khanqah-i Qadiriyya*.

In the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Jahangir's reign (1619-20) the Emperor Jahangir invited Shaikh Abdul-Haqq to pay him his respect and to present him with the *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, apart from this, Jahangir took no interest whatsoever in the Shaikh's monumental contributions to the study of *Hadish* which by this time had made him a prominent figure, but he rewarded Shaikh Abdul Haqq with lavish honours and gifts.<sup>100</sup>

Just prior to his death, however, Jahangir became alienated from Shaikh Abdul Haqq and his son Shaikh Nurul Haqq. He exiled Nurul Haqq to Kabul and ordered Shaikh Abdul Haqq and Shaikh Husamuddin to where he was comped in Kashmir Shaikh Abdul Haqq travelled to Lahore where he visited Miyan Mir. The Miyan predicted that before he saw the Emperor he would return safely to Delhi, four days later Jahangir died. It would seem that Shaikh Nurul Haqq who was *Qazi* of Agra, was accused of friendship with prince Khurram who later ascended the throne as Shahjahan. The prince had rebelled against his father in 1622 waging war against him until his surrender in March 1626 AD. His young sons (Dara, then aged ten and Aurangzeb aged eight) were sent as hostages to the Emperors court. Jahangir's rapidly declining health

precipitated the traditional Mughal war of succession. Shaikh Nurul Haqq's interest in prince Khurram prompted the retribution meted out to those whom Jahangir considered a threat to his throne, and caused Shaikh Nurul Haqq's exile to Kabul. After the accession to Shahjahan to the throne not only were Shaikh Abdul Haqq and Shaikh Nurul Haqq allowed to return to Delhi but the latter was reappointed Qazi in Agra.<sup>101</sup>

19 June 1642, Shaikh Abdul Haqq died at the age of ninety four, he was buried at the *Hauzi-i Shamsi*. Shaikh Abdul Haqq's most important was the Persian commentary on the *Mishkat-al Masabih* entitled the *Ashiat-al lamaat*. The Arabic commentary, the *Lamaat-al Tanqih*, then there was a summary of his own Persian commentary entitled *Jama-al Barakat*, and he compiled a book on *Asma-al Rijal* as well.<sup>102</sup> He also wrote a Persian commentary on the *sufar-al Saada* or *Al sirat-al Mustaqim* by Majduddin Muhammad bin Yaqub al-Firuzabadi also the author of Arabic dictionary, *Al Qamus*, *Madarijun-Nubuwwa*, *Ma Sabata Bis Sunna*. The most important contribution of Shaikh Abdul Haqq was to popularize the teachings of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani in his Persian translation of a collection of 78 of Ghausul-i Azam's sermons called the *Futuh al-Ghayb*. *Miftah-i Futuh* (key to the Futuh). *Mazul-al bahrain fil jama bain al-Tariqain*.

The sons and disciples of Shaikh Abdul Haqq were strict adherents to the traditions of his Qadiriyya Khanqah and were mystics as well as scholars of Shaikh Abdul Haqq's three sons, Shaikh Ali Muhammad wrote treatises on the teachings and the biographies of Chishtiyya Sufis, a biography of Shaikh Abdul Qadir and a dictionary of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. The most outstanding

of the three was the eldest, Shaikh Nurul Haqq. He wrote a history of 'India from the time of Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam to the accession of Jahangir' (1014 AH/1605 AD). He also wrote a Persian commentary on the *Qiran us-sadain*, *Taisir-al qari fi Sharh Sahih al Bukhari* and dedicated it to Aurangzeb.

After the death of Shaikh Nurul Haqq on 17 May 1663, his only son, Shaikh Nurullah had little impact in Delhi as an *Alim*. Two of the latter's four sons, however, Shaikh Saifullah and Shaikh Muibbullah were well known scholars. Saifullah also translated the *Shamail-al Nabi of Tirmizi* into Persian and dedicated it to the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The most famous of the Qadiri saint of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was Miyan Mir. Dara Shukoh records that the Miyan never slept at night and for several years used only one breath lasting for an entire night till sunrise. His life's philosophy was based on *Tawakkul* (trust in God) which was characterized by his throwing out water on a hot Lahore evening to ensure that none remained for the next day. The Miyan believed that *Khatra* (Anxiety, disturbing thoughts) depended on imagination and that a loss of purpose resulted in a lack of anxiety. According to Miyan Mir *namaz-i-bi-khatra* (prayer without anxiety) involved an unequivocal commitment to God.<sup>103</sup>

In 1620 the Emperor Jahangir, en route to Kashmir from Sirhind, was informed that Miyan Mir was an outstanding ascetic. He had already left Lahore and was unable to return to see the great Shaikh. At the Emperor's invitation Miyan Mir visited his camp and overwhelmed Jahangir by his mystical discourse. So impressed was the emperor with the Miyan's asceticism that he dared not present him with any gift except for the skin of a white

antelope to pray on.<sup>104</sup> Two years later when Shah Abbas Safawi of Iran, besieged Qandahar to Emperor humbly requested Miyan Mir to pray for him. Twice the emperor Shahjahan called at Miyan Mir's house in Lahore. Despite such attentions from the powerful Miyan Mir managed generally to remain aloof from worldly authorities.

Miyan Hajji Muhammad Banyani, another of Miyan Mirs disciples, had been a soldier as well as a petty Mansabdar. Although he habitually followed chishtiyya practices he steadily became more unsatisfied with his spiritual progress. After approaching Miyan Mir for guidance he began accompanying his new pir and his disciples into the surrounding groves. In a relatively short time he had achieved his goal. A mystical poet, he expressed his ideas with great sensitivity and emotion. His death occurred on 7 November, 1644 AD.<sup>105</sup>

Mulla Shahs associations with Dara Shukoh had served to exacerbate orthodox hostility towards Sufism, but this development failed to undermine Mulla Shahs importance, both as a sufi and a poet. Aurangzeb spent two and a half months in Srinagar between May and August, 1663, and is said to have visited the Be-Ham gardens and offered supererogatory prayers in the Mulla's former cell. After shahjahan's death early in 1666, Aurangzeb became reconciled to Jahan Ara, Dara Shukoh's favourite sister and staunch supporter. Whatever bitterness the new Emperor had originally felt about Mulla Shah's former connection with Dara Shukoh must by this time have abated.

After returning from Kashmir at the end of December 1634, the Emperor and the prince revisited Miyan Mir at Lahore, Shahjahan offered gifts of a turban and a rosary, the Miyan accepted the rosary but returned the turban

considering the Miyan's house to be a holy precinct Dara shukoh entered it barefooted while Shahjahan and Miyan Mir talked the sufi chewed cloves, the remains of which he spat on the floor. To the disgust of some of those present Dara Shukoh respectfully picked up the scraps and ate them. When the emperor left he lingered on, placing his head at the feet of Miyan Mir. Raising him up the Miyan hugged the young prince and showered him with blessing.

21 January 1640 Dara Shukoh completed his first text on Sufism, the *safinat-ul Auliya*. It is a biographical dictionary which lists all the significant Sufis (both dead and living) and is divided into the following eight sections.

1. Muhammad, the first four caliphs, the twelve Imams.
2. The Qadiriyya order: starting from Shaikh Maruf Karkhi to Miyan Mir.
3. The Naqshbandiyya order : to Khawaja Abdush Shahid to Khwaja Baqi.
4. The chishtiyya order: Khwaja Muinuddin Sijzi to Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari.
5. The Kubrawiyya order.
6. The suhrawardiyya order: Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri to Shaikh Sirajuddin Muhammad shah Alam (Qutb i-Alam).
7. Miscellaneous saints of 217 saints.
8. Female saints and prominent women.

Dara Shukohs second work was the *Sakinat-ul Auliya*. It included an account of Miyan Mir, the latters sister, Bibi Jamal Khatun and the Miyan's disciples. These last were covered under two headings, the first being of those who were deceased, and the second of those who were alive at the completion of the work in 1642-43. The *Sakinat ul-auliya* was also based on Dara

Shukoh's personal knowledge of contemporary Sufis. In it we are told the author had already written a treatise giving an account of Miyan Mirs life.

When Dara Shukoh completed the *Risala-i Haqqnuma* he was still ignorant of the Hindu mystical system although it is possible he may have already meet some Hindus mystics and ascetics. His *wahdat al-wujud* was strictly based on the ideas expressed by Ibn Arabi and he considered *Allah* to be the *Ism-i Azam* (the great name), ignoring the significance of *om*, the sacred word of the Hindu divines. His later contact with yogis and sanyasis refined his understanding of the *Wahdat-ul wujud* and, although the basic concepts remained essentially unaltered, he began interpreting them in a terminology understood by Hindus and Muslims alike concentrating mainly on the Qadiriyya practices, he had little opportunity to pay attention to the chishtiyya interpretations of sufi ideologies as contained in the *Rushd-nama* of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi.<sup>106</sup>

Dara Shukoh also wrote mystical poetry, and quoted his own verses in the *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, the *Risala-i Haqq Numa* and the *Hasanat-ul Arifin* and *Rubais* using Qadiri as his 'nom de plume', Dara Shukoh's poems are fashioned after those of Jami and Shabistari. His association with Sarmad had further encouraged him to express his mystical feelings through the exuberance and frankness of poetry. Besides his favourite theme of the *wahdat-al wujud*, Dara's poems glorify the Qadiriyyas and constantly challenge the Ulama.

During the sixteenth century a Qadiriyya centre in Bengal was established by Shah Qumaish, the son of Saiyid Abul Hayat. The shah was able to trace his spiritual descent from Saiyid Abdur Razzaq Jilani, a son of Shaikh Abdul Qadir

Jilani, from Bengal he migrated to Sabura Khizrabad in Thaneswar where he enrolled many disciples and settled in a Khanqah. It would seem that Akbar persuaded him to return to Bengal where he died on 6 November, 1584 AD.<sup>107</sup>

The disciple of Diwan Abdur Rashid of Jaunpuri also established Qadiriyya centers in Bengal. During the seventeenth century, the most prominent Qadiriyya in Bengal was Mir Saiyid Muhammad Qadiri of Raj Mahal, who was succeeded by Shah Niamatullah originally from Narnaul, during a visit to Bengal the latter became so enamoured with the province that he decided to settle there. Prince Shah Shuja the viceroy of Bengal his sons and some of the Mughal nobility became Shah Niamatullah's disciples. The shah founded his *Khanqah* in the village of Firuzpur, four miles from Raj Mahal.

According to Sher Khan Lodi, huge quantities of food were daily distributed to the poor of the Shah's *Khanqah*. Each year, three days were reserved for a general distribution of food and countless Hindu and Muslim beggars assembled to receive it. A large number of *Baqqals* (grain merchants) would assemble to sell grain to the Khanqah and the occasion became a local fair.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Qadiriyya order around Lucknow had many successes, the result of the work of the dynamic Shah Abdur Razzaq of Bansa. His grandfather, Muinuddin had migrated from Badakhshan to the Mughal court at the time of either Akbar or Jahangir. As a descendent of the celebrated Naqshbandiyya, Amir Kulal, Muinuddin was given a Mansab, and embarked on an expedition to ensure the submission of the Rajput zamindars of Daryabad and Rudauli, east of

Lucknow. He seems to have succeeded in his wars against the Rajputs and settled in the village of Mahmudabad near Daryabad.

#### **(4) Suhrawardi Sufis of the Period**

Makhdum Jahaniyan's disciples established Suhrawardiyya centre in other provincial kingdoms. Kalpi became such a centre due to the prestige of Shaikh Siraj Sukhta, a favourite Imam of Makhdum Jahaniyan. A more famous Suhrawardiyya sufi in the region was Shaikh Rajgiri, to whom Makhdum Jahaniyan gave the title *Akhi*. A native of Daryabad in Awadh, Akhi was given Makhdum Jahaniyan's Khirqa when he first settled at Kanauj, finding his constant stream of visitors irksome, he moved to a lonely village on the Ganges called Rajgir.

During Akhi's stay in Kanauj, on the day of the Hindu festival of Holi, a group of Hindu boys passed his house singing and dancing their music so moved him that he fell into a trance, and followed the revellers around the streets of Kanauj for three days and nights, so infectious was the group that many of the townsfolk joined them. Naturally the orthodox religious authorities were shocked and persuaded Khwaja-i Jahan Sultanush sharq to discipline Akhi Rajgiri. The Shaikh retaliated with a strongly worded letter to the sultan. He did not mind courting death, he said, for divine love had made death a cherished goal. No further action was taken.<sup>108</sup>

Leaving Uch and Multan after his initiation, Samauddin visited Nagaur, Gujarat, and Bayana. Apparently he reached Bayana in the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (1451-89) while the latter was vigorously engaged in a war against sultan Husain Shah Sharqi. Bahlul's Afghan Governor of Bayana, Sultan



Ahmad Jalwani, who secretly supported the Sharqi Sultan's bid to liquidate Bahlul begged Shaikh Samauddin to pray for Sultan Husain's success. Reportedly the Shaikh was angered at such a request and his reaction helped to change the mind of Jalwani and he abandoned his plotting.<sup>109</sup>

Shaikh Samauddin became highly respected by the new Sultan. In keeping with his own influence at court, the Shaikh advised Jamali, one of his disciples, of the wisdom of maintaining a lever through which a sufi could work for the politically mute. At one of his many visits to Shaikh Samauddin, the Sultan was told that there were three types of people who could never hope to receive divine blessings. Old men who sinned, young men who did likewise, but hoped to repent at a later date, and kings who lied.<sup>110</sup>

At the suggestion of Shaikh Samauddin, Jamali became friendly with Sultan Sikandar. An enthusiastic amateur poet, the Sultan Soon become devoted to Jamali's company. However, his successor, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26), in a bid to establish authority over his father's favourites, dealt with them severely. Many including Sikandar's *Wazir*, Miyan Bhuwa, were executed. Jamali wrote the latter's elegy. The new court favourites attempted to have Jamali punished, and although naturally alienated from the court, he remained unharmed. India's conquest by Babur (1526-30) was an occasion which was seized by Jamali to write a joyful panegyric to the new ruler and the crown prince, Humayun. During the latter's reign between 1530 and 1539, Shaikh Jamali accompanied the Sultan on his Gujarat campaign, and during the expedition he died on 1 May, 1536 AD.<sup>111</sup>

Jamali had two sons, the younger Shaikh Abdul Hai, was also a poet. He was a member of the court of the Afghan Sher Shah (1539-45) and

accompanied him on his campaigns Islam Shah (1545-52) also patronized Abdul Hai. Abdul Hais elder brother, Shaikh Gadai, remained loyal to the Mughals. After Humayun's flight from Delhi, the Shaikh migrated to Gujarat. In 1542 he helped Bairam Khan, a great champion of the Mughal cause, who later joined Humayun, his exiled ruler<sup>112</sup>, at Jan, a town in Sind. With his family, Shaikh Gadai left for Mecca prior to Akbar's historic battle against Himu at Panipat on 5 November, 1556, the Shaikh returned to Delhi and joined the Mughal army. According to Badauni, the Shaikh advised Akbar to kill the imprisoned Himu. At Akbar's refusal to kill an enemy who was already half dead from injuries, Shaikh Gadai personally assisted Bairam to finally kill Himu.<sup>113</sup> Bairam Khan was appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor Akbar, and the former repaid Shaikh Gadai by elevating him to the post of *Sadr-us Sudur*, the controller of land and stipends granted for religious purposes, which was accompanied by unprecedented powers. Apparently the Shaikh revoked the grants previously given to a number of the *ulama* and to Sufis who had supported the Afghans. So great was his prestige in Akbar's government that his *sama* assemblies were attended by both the Emperor and the Prime Minister.<sup>114</sup>

Shaikh Gadai's administration was generally unpopular, with both *ulama* and Sufis. Mulla Badauni, an uncompromising opponent of Akbar's radical religious policies, wrote scandalous comment about the Shaikh Gadai's role in the rebellion of Bairam Khan, from whom the Sultan had become estranged in 1559, discredited Gadai. After Bairam fall from power and his exile to Mecca Shaikh Gadai accompanied Bairam into obscurity. However, he did not leave Bairam at Bikaner as stated by Mulla Badauni. After the

assassination of Bairam Khan near Patan on 31 January, 1561, Shaikh Gadai lived in the mountainous region of Jaisalmer in fear of his life. Then apparently pardoned, he returned to Delhi and was content to be supported by a minor *Madad-i maash*. Shaikh Abdul Haqq reports that despite his great age, the Shaikh loved the company of pretty faced youths, probably boys. Shaikh Gadai died in 1568-69 or a year later. Although he had been entitled to use the venerated name *Hajji*.<sup>115</sup>

### **(5) The Naqshbandiyya order**

Later it was reorganized by Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband (718 AH/1318-791/1389 AD) after whom the silsilah came to be called the Naqshbandiyya. His tomb, known as the *Qasr-i Arifin*, near Bukhara, grew into a thriving rendezvous for Sufis and other Muslims. Later Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband's disciples established a network of Naqshbandiyya centre throughout central Asia and in Herat, Balkh and Badakhshan.

The Indian Naqshbandiyyas traced their spiritual descent from Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaidullah Ahrar<sup>116</sup>, a prominent successor of Khwaja Bahauddin's disciple, Yaqub Charkhi. His parents came from a devout farming family in Baghistan, a village in a valley near Tashkent, where they lived in the vicinity of the tomb of Imam Abu Bakr Qaffal Shashi.<sup>117</sup> He spent most of his days at the tombs of Imam Abu Bakr Qaffal and of another sufi, Shaikh Khawand Tahur, only a short distance from his home. Turning now to the disciples of the Khwaja, a number shared his love of traveling in order to enrich mystical experiences. One of them was Shaikh Faiyazi Bukhari, who spent some time in Northern China before 1531 he reached Nagaur in Rajasthan (India) and died there.<sup>118</sup>

The conquest of India by Babur in 1526 gave considerable impetus to the development of the Naqshbandiyya order. Some eminent Naqshbandiyya Sufis also migrated from central Asia to India. Among the most prominent were Khwaja Abdush Shahid, Khawaja Kalan, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, son of Khwaja Kalan and a grandson of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, and who was called Makhdumi Nura in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, was also held in great respect by Babur.

In the early years of Akbar's reign the Naqshbandiyya influence returned to the Mughal court and many Naqshbandiyya Sufis who migrated from their homeland in Transoxiana to Agra obtained high posts in the civil and military administration. Some Naqshbandiyya pirs who had migrated to India after spending a few years with Mirza Hakim (Akbar's half-brother), or who were originally from Kabul, remained loyal to Mirza Hakim and also opposed Akbar's religious policies. One of their leaders was Khwaja Ubaid Kabuli, a Khalifa of Maulana Lutfullah Naqshbandi. After some years as a sufi preacher at Kabul under the patronage of Mirza Hakim, he migrated to Akbar's court. Muhammad Hashim Kishmi says that Akbar banished him to Thatta after he became involved in some religious dispute.<sup>119</sup>

Khwaja Muhammad Amin (a nephew of Khwaja Ishaq Dehbedi) arrived in Srinagar. Some of Jami Beg's followers who had been devoted to Khwaja Ishaq Dehbedi now became disciples of Khwaja Muhammad Amin. The ever-increasing band of disciples forced Khwaja Muhammad Amin into a state of rivalry with Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. However, it was the latter's miraculous power, according to his son, Khwaja Muinuddin, which prompted Khwaja Muhammad Amin to become his rivals disciple.<sup>120</sup> The Mughal Government of

Kashmir assigned the house of the Sultan of Kashmir, Husain Shah, to the Shaikh who converted it into a Khanqah, and a small Mosque was built beside it. Before Akbar's death the Khwaja visited Agra where he initiated a number of high ranking Mughal nobles, including Mirza Aziz Koka who became his disciple prominent ladies of the harem such as Sultan Salima Begum and Gulrukh Begum, also took the opportunity of becoming disciples of a direct descendant of their ancestral pirs, Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband and Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. Even Akbar, says Khwaja Muinuddin, sought the Khwaja's blessing. After Jahangir's accession he departed for Kashmir, but had only reached Lahore when the rebel prince Khusrau asked him for his blessing for his uprising. Politely the Khwaja refused him saying that he prayed only for him who was fighting for a right cause and pious motives.

In 1606-07, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud reached Srinagar and at the same time sent some of his disciples to Kabul to initiate others. Mulla Abdul Hasan and an illiterate Kashmiri disciple were sent by the Khwaja to propagate Islam in Tibet. In 1608 the Khwaja revisited Agra, but this time he was involved in a conflict with a Mughal officer who was his enemy over the question of discipleship, the Khwaja's clever handling of the situation staved off a crisis. However, such an orthodox Transoxianian noblemen as Khan-i Azam offered no assistance to Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, but the Irani Abul Hasan (later Asaf Khan), the second son of Jahangir's *Wakil-i kul* (Prime Minister), Itmaduddaula, steadfastly supported him. The Khwaja finally left for Kashmir after distributing about 23000 Rs. of his own funds in Agra to the deserving. In 1620 Emperor Jahangir, during his visit to Kashmir, evinced considerable interest in the Khwaja's mission as the Naqshbandiyya leader.

The Naqshbandiyya sufi who gained the most remarkable popularity in India in a very short period was Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah, whose real name was Saiyid Raziuddin, was born on 5<sup>th</sup> Zilhijja 971 A.H./16th December, 1563 A.D. in Kabul.<sup>121</sup> His father Qazi Abdus Salam, geneologically a Quraishi Saiyid, was known for his peity and scholarship, and originally belonged to Samarqand.<sup>122</sup> From his mother's side Khwaja Baqi Billah was a descendant of Shaikh Umar Yaghistani (ob.698 AH/1298 AD)<sup>123</sup> who was the maternal grand father of Khwaja Obaidullah Ahrar<sup>124</sup>, a well-known Naqshbandi saint of Central Asia.

Since his very boyhood Baqi Billah was devoted to seclusion and meditation.<sup>125</sup> He started his formal and traditional education under Maulana Sadiq Halwai<sup>126</sup>, a renowned scholar of central Asia, and within a very short span of time, distinguished himself amongst the students. Even before he completed his education, he was so well versed in different sciences that he could easily explain controversial points of Islamic theology.<sup>127</sup> He also accompanied his teacher to Transoxiana where he meet and benefited from a number of sufis and ulama.<sup>128</sup>

The contemporary sources reveal that Khwaja Baqi Billah spent a long time in his mystic travels. He visited some places in India and met his relatives who held high positions in the army. They even persuaded him to join the army but he declined.<sup>129</sup> He went to Lahore and kept the company of eminent saints. There he also studied mystic literature which created in him a spirit of love for *tasawwuf*, i.e. Islamic mysticism. He therefore, carried on vigorously his search for truth despite heavy odds and did not relinquish his desire to find out *Mashaikh* i.e. Muslim saints. Incidentally, he came into contact with a *majzub*

who influenced him very deeply.<sup>130</sup> It is reported that in India Khwaja Baqi Billah also journeyed through the region of Sambhal, presently a Tehsil in the modern Muradabad district, and called on Shaikh Allah Bakhsh<sup>131</sup>, who was a khalifa of Syed Ali Qawam of Jaunpur.<sup>132</sup>

Later he returned to Central Asia and travelled through many cities and towns there. Ultimately he came back to Kabul and joined his mother who was worried and distressed at his long absence and poor health.<sup>133</sup> After sometime, having obtained her permission, he again left for Samarqand where he met Shaikh Iftikhar<sup>134</sup> and Khwaja Obaid.<sup>135</sup> He also called on Amir Abdullah Balkhi<sup>136</sup> and benefited from his spiritual discourses. He is also reported to have been inspired during these days by the spirit of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband.<sup>137</sup> Throughout his stay at Samarqand Baqi Billah wholeheartedly devoted himself to meditation and spiritual exercises.<sup>138</sup> Then he proceeded to Kashmir and remained there for about two years in the company of Shaikh Baba wali.<sup>139</sup> When the latter died in 1001 AH/1592 AD, Khwaja Baqi Billah returned to central Asia via Lahore<sup>140</sup> and came into contact with Maulana Khwajgi Amkangi<sup>141</sup>, who lived in Amkana, a town in the vicinity of Samarqand. He was so highly impressed by the spiritual attainments of Mulana Amkangi that he joined his mystic discipline.<sup>142</sup> Though he undertook another journey to Transoxiana and called on some sufi saints of the region but soon he returned to Samarqand to keep the company of his spiritual mentor. He later on, received Khilafat from Maulana Amkangi. The Maulana directed him to proceed towards India and patronize the Naqshbandi silsilah there.<sup>143</sup> In compliance with his Pir's orders, Khwaja Baqi Billah left for India and stayed at Lahore for fourteen months.<sup>144</sup>

Finally he reached and settled down in Delhi in 1008 AH/1599 AD. He established a *khanqah* near the Firuzi Fort and devoted himself to the propagation of the Naqshbandi silsilah. His influence soon spread and a large number of people flocked to him.<sup>145</sup> Most of his time was spent either in prayer and meditation or in teaching and reforming his visitors and followers.<sup>146</sup> Both *Zubdat-al Maqamat* and *Hazarat-al Quds* state that Khwaja Baqi Billah led a simple and secluded life, and did not like publicity of his spiritual attainments. However, he explained any mystic problem exhaustively and convincingly. His replies gave evidence of his deep knowledge and cogent reasoning.<sup>147</sup> Whosoever approached him, was highly impressed by his qualities of head and heart and above all his humility had a tremendous impact upon his visitors. He generally avoided enlisting seekers to his own mystic discipline and advised them to find out some other suitable guide. He went to the extent of saying that they should inform him if they found any suitable guide so that he himself could benefit from him.<sup>148</sup>

Continuous penitences and vigils had so impaired his health that at the age of forty he looked as a man of eighty years. He died on Saturday 25th Jamadiul Akhir (Jamadu II) 1012 A.H./30th November, 1603 AD, and was buried near *Qadamgah-i Rasul*, the north side of the Firuzi Fort in Delhi.<sup>149</sup>

Khwaja Baqi Billah was survived by two sons, Khwaja Obaidullah, popularly called Khwaja Kalan, and Khwaja Abdullah, known as Khwaja Khurd.<sup>150</sup> Both these sons were great scholars<sup>151</sup> and renowned sufis.<sup>152</sup> They worked for the development of Islamic mysticism and showed great enthusiasm in popularizing the Naqshbandi silsilah. Baqi Billah's chief Khalifa and spiritual successor Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, also known as *Mujaddid-i Alf-i*



*Thani*, whom Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal characterizes as, Great religious genius ..... whose fearless analytical criticism of contemporary sufism resulted in the development of a new Technique”<sup>153</sup> holds a very special position in the history of Islam in India. He accelerated his master's mission by reversing the heretical trends of his time and restoring the pristine purity of Islam.<sup>154</sup> In the words of Schimmel, ‘He tried much more energetically to follow the Naqshbandi practices for ameliorating the Muslim society’.<sup>155</sup> Moreover, Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi, another famous divine of the age, also joined Khwaja Baqi Billah's mystic fold and sought his spiritual guidance.<sup>156</sup> Shaikh Husamuddin<sup>157</sup>, Shaikh Ilahadad<sup>158</sup>, and Shaikh Tajuddin<sup>159</sup> were other famous Khalifas of the Khwaja who devoted themselves to their spiritual master and played important part in disseminating the Naqshbandi order in India and abroad.

Almost all the teachings and mystic thought of Khwaja Baqi Billah revolve around the *Kitab-wa Sunnah*, i.e. the *Quran* and the *Hadith*. He laid great stress on *Shariat*, i.e. the laws of Islam, and considered *Tasawwuf* a complete devotion and surrender to it.<sup>160</sup> He used to say that a mystic should follow the *Shariat* first and then turn to the mystic path and principles.<sup>161</sup> To him it is the duty of a sufi to inspire and persuade the people and other sufis for the propagation, protection and furtherance of the *Shariat*. He stressed the purification of the Soul by strictly adhering to the practices approved by the Holy Prophet. He would say that nobody could become a perfect saint without following the Holy prophet and his companions, i.e. the path of Ahl-i Sunnat wa Al-Jamat.<sup>162</sup> He attached great importance to the study of the *Quran*, *Hadith* and *Fiqh*, the Islamic jurisprudence, and exhorted his followers to translate them into actions. He always emphasized the importance of

obligatory prayers as means for attaining Gnosis (*Marifat*).<sup>163</sup> He himself was careful in performing his religious duties and five time namaz (prayer). The author of *Kalimat-al Sadiqin* says. "None of his actions was contrary to the teachings of the *Shariat*".<sup>164</sup> He paid great respect to the followers of *Shariat*<sup>165</sup> and supported the actions, ideas as well as sayings of the preceding saints as they were true followers of the Holy Prophet and acted upon the principles of Islam. According to him these followers of Islam deserved to be meticulously followed.<sup>166</sup>

The other important advice of Khwaja Baqi Billah to his disciples was to earn their livelihood through legal means and personal efforts. He always exhorted for the lawful morsel.<sup>167</sup> He would say that a mystic should care not only for the legality of food but for other things also. He should check whether the fuel, water and utensils are obtained lawfully.<sup>168</sup> The Khwaja himself did not take any particle of food obtained from doubtful means.<sup>169</sup>

Baqi Billah strongly favoured *tawakkul*, (trust in God), and considered it one of the significant features of Islamic mysticism. According to him it causes too much 'confidence in God' and involves the absorption of individuality in the Essence. To him *tawakkul* does not mean sitting idle and doing no work. But every one should keep himself busy in some job.<sup>170</sup> He would say that means were like doors and every one should make use of them. Whosoever shuts the doors, commits mistake. Life of lethargy and parasitism is definitely condemned.<sup>171</sup> The Khwaja laid great emphasis on *Rabita* or *tasawwur-i Shaikh*<sup>172</sup> and enjoined his disciples to practice it regularly.<sup>173</sup> *Tauba*, the penitence, was also an important exhortation of the Khwaja. According to him, it is the initial stage of mystic path. It dissociates from sins

and develops a 'love for God'. Whenever he initiated a disciple, he exhorted him to repent from the sins committed in the past and to make a resolve to follow *Shariat* in future.<sup>174</sup> To him the perfect *tauba* is to cutt off oneself from the wordly affairs.<sup>175</sup>

The teachings of Khwaja Baqi Billah also highlight *Zuhd*, *Qana'at*, *Uzlat* and *Sabr*. Defining *Zuhd* he writes in a letter, "A mystic should abandon all desires whether of this world or of the world hereafter. No sufi can achieve his goal unless he renounces this world and devotes himself to Almighty Allah".<sup>176</sup> He would say that *qanaat* was the abandonment of superfluous things, satisfaction only with undispensible commodities (most essential for life), and to abstain from the wastage of money and provisions. To him, the perfect *qana'at* is the 'satisfaction with God' and 'His love'.<sup>177</sup> Discussing *uzlat*, the 'self-seclusion', he says that a mystic should keep himself aloof from the society and constantly re-examine his spiritual conditions. He should join his disciples and family with the intention of human welfare, only when it is indispensable. A mystic should banish all thoughts except those of God and his religion, he should purify his heart also.<sup>178</sup> As for *Sabr*, (patience), he means it to give up all pleasures of soul (*ruh*) and to abstain from coveted things.<sup>179</sup> Emphasis on *Zikr* and *Tawajjuh* is also laid in the Khwaja's thought. He defines *Zikr* as to forget everything, even himself, except God whereas the process of abstaining from all desires and devoting himself to God is *Tawajjuh*.<sup>180</sup> Moreover, *Maraqaba* (Meditation), is also an essential feature of Baqi Billah's spiritual exhortations. Through the process of *Maraqaba* a mystic's concentration on the infinite and the eternal is developed. The mystic itinerant passes from one station (*Magam*) to another. It also creates in mystic a love for God. According to him *Maraqaba* with love (*Muhabbat*), becomes

an effective process of inner development.<sup>181</sup> He used to say that one could become a perfect saint only by cultivating these qualities. If one does not follow the rules he can not be a perfect Sufi.<sup>182</sup>

It appears, Khwaja Baqi Billah believed in *Wahdat-ul Wujud* (unity of Being) and supported the views of Shaikh Muhiyyuddin Ibn al-Arabi. The concept of *wahbat-ul Wujud* within the framework of *Shariat* was his favourite doctrine. But during the last days of his life he had changed his views. He is said to have uttered on one occasion that *Tauhid-i Wujudi* was a narrow lane whereas the broad way was another.<sup>183</sup> It is reported that he had indicated the danger related to this concept. He would say that the faith in *Tauhid* (Monotheism), is the most important pillar of Islam and it did not mean merely the affirmation of one God, but rejection of all other and false Gods. He is omnipresent. None can claim to share authority with Him.<sup>184</sup>

Thus we see that Khwaja Baqi Billah's place in the Islamic history of India is very important. Though he remained in Delhi for four years, yet in this short span of time he did so much that several generations benefitted from his spiritual excellence. His main contribution lies in bringing together many eminent personalities of the time under his own mystic discipline by attracting them to the basic sources of Islamic thought.

The most prominent successors was Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. However the disciple who looked after his family, including his infact children, and built him a mausoleum, was Khwaja Husamuddin Ahmad. He was born in 1569-70 at Qunduz, his father, Qazi Nizam of Badakhshan, migrated to Agra. Later he married a sister of Shaikh Abul Fazl, an Indian Shaikhzada and well-known historian and admirer of Akbar, Mughal campaigns in the Deccan under Mirza

Abdur Rahim Khan-i khanan (1556-1627) and held a Mansab of 1000. However the Khwaja also pursued his interest in the mystical traditions of his ancestors, he disliked the protracted guerilla type warfare of the Deccan. The Khan-i-khanan attempted to pressurize the Khwaja not to resign. As did Abul Fazl who was appointed a commander of the Deccan wars in January 1599 AD. The Khwaja soon had to be relieved of his duties, however, as he began constantly to lapse into ecstatic states and would be found wandering around the streets and Bazaars in a crazy fashion.<sup>185</sup>

Khwaja Husamuddin believed in the *Wahdat-al wujud* philosophy of Khwaja Baqi Billah and his other Ahrari pirs, showing little interest in the *Wahdat-al wujud* concepts expounding by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.<sup>186</sup> Khwaja Husamuddin probably did not participate in *Sama* but the sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah and other Sufis in his Khanqah did, ignoring Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's disapproval of what he believed to be a sinful innovation in the sufi *Tariqa*. The Firuzabadi or the Delhi branch of the Naqshbandiyya Silsilah, which featured both the *Wahdat-al wujud* of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar and the Chishtiyya practice of *sama*, remained distinct and independent from the Sirhindi branch directed by Shaikh Ahmad. Among followers of the Firuzabadi branch, as we shall see, were the famous Shah Waliullah and his father. Both thereupon returned to Delhi, on August 1633, Khwaja Husamuddin died at Agra and was buried there. Later his earthly remains were transferred to Delhi and buried in a grave close by his pirs.<sup>187</sup>

### **Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi**

Among Khwaja Baqi Billah's khalifas Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi occupies extraordinary position not only in the medieval regional annals but also in the

whole history of Medieval India. He was the first Muslim scholar and sufi in the history of Indian subcontinent whose thought and movement (i.e. the Naqshbandi-Mujuddidi Silsilah), reached far beyond the frontiers of our land and attracted people, including Sufis and ulama, in different parts of the world like Arabian countries, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Indonesia etc.<sup>188</sup> The collection of his letters, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, have been warmly held and form significant part of Islamic literature throughout the world. His conception of Tawhid known as the *Wahdat-ush Shuhud* (the Unity of Appearance) and endless efforts to revive the *Shariah*, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi among the great religious personalities in the Islamic history of world. For countries he has been considered one of the most outstanding sufi teachers and thinkers.<sup>189</sup> His influence on Muslim social traditions, mystical trends, political developments and intellectual environment during the medieval period was so deep that his followers and descendants dominated the whole spiritual scenario in the country. It seems that the Naqshbandi Mujaddidi silsilah would supersede other sufi orders. According to (Late) Professor K.A. Nizami, for nearly two centuries it was the Principal spiritual order in India and its influence permeated far and deep into Indo-Muslim life.<sup>190</sup>

Born in 971 A.H./1563 A.D.<sup>191</sup> in a scholarly sufi family in Sirhind, a town in the present Fatehgarh Sahib district in modern Panjab in India<sup>192</sup>, Shaikh Ahmad inherited many intellectual and spiritual qualities and traditions of his great ancestors. A descendent of the second Pious Caliph Umar Al-Faruq Al Azam, Sirhindi's father Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi was held very esteemly among the sufis and scholars of the sixteenth century. Being an interpreter of the sufi-philosophy of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*, he had earned

countrywide fame and deep respect.<sup>193</sup> One of his ancestors was Imam Rafiuddin who was a disciple and Khalifa of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Suhrawardi of Uch.<sup>194</sup> As the latter had deep impact upon Firuz Shah Tughlaq and often visited him in Delhi, Imam Rafiuddin on one occasion accompanied his mentor and meet the Sultan. It is said that Sultan Firuz Shah, being impressed by his peity and scholarship, sent the Imam to the village known as Sirhind to lay the foundation of a fortress and establish there a town. Since then the family of Imam Rafiuddin settled in Sirhind.<sup>195</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's another renowned ancestor was Shaikh Shihabuddin Ali, commonly called Farrukh Shah Kabuli, who had been among the great nobles and ministers of Sultans of Kabul.<sup>196</sup> Though the later Naqshbandi *tazkirah Rauzat-ul Qaiyyumiyyah* mentions Farrukh Shah as a ruler of Kabul<sup>197</sup> but the author of the *Zubdat-ul Maqamat* seems correct as no ruler of this name is mentioned in history of Kabul. However, according to Mir Khurd, the author of the famous work *Siyar-ul Auliya*, Farrukh Shah belonged to the family of the rulers of Kabul.<sup>198</sup> In India, beside Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the famous Chishti saint Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar, popularly known as Baba Farid, of Ajodhan, (later called Pakpattan, now in Pakistan), also was a renowned descendent of Farrukh Shah Kabuli.<sup>199</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi received his early formal education under his illustrious father and other ulama of Sirhindi.<sup>200</sup> It is said, in a short span of time, committing the *Quran* to his memory<sup>201</sup> and acquiring knowledge of Islamic sciences, he gained proficiency in different subjects. Afterwards, he proceeded to Siyalkot, which was an important seat of Islamic learnings in those days. There he studied under special guidance of Maulana Kamal

Kashmiri.<sup>202</sup> Some advanced works of *Tafsir* and *Hadith*, (Quranic exegesis and traditions of the Prophet of Islam).<sup>203</sup>

The famous Muslim divine of the seventeenth century Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti<sup>204</sup> had been the classmate of Shaikh Ahmad in the *Madrassa* of Maulana Kamal Kashmiri. Later on, Ahmad Sirhindi, still in Siyalkot, joined the seminary of another renowned scholar Shaikh Ya'qub Sarafi Kashmiri<sup>205</sup> and acquired still more advanced knowledge of *Hadith* from him.<sup>206</sup> Yaqub Sarafi left deep impressions upon the heart and mind of Ahmad Sirhindi. It was undoubtedly on account of his association with Shaikh Ya'qub that Shaikh Ahmad, throughout his life, insisted on following the path of the Prophet's *sunnah* and developed anti-shiite feeling. Most probably he might have written his famous treatise *Risalah-i Radd-i Rawafiz* under Shaikh Yaqub's deep influence.<sup>207</sup> Sirhindi also went to Qazi Bahlul Badakhshani<sup>208</sup> under whose supervision he studied the *Tafsir-i Wahidi*<sup>209</sup>, *Tafsir-i Baizawi*<sup>210</sup> *Sahih Al-Bukhari*<sup>211</sup> *Mishkat-i Tabrizi*<sup>212</sup>, *Shamail-i Tirmizi*<sup>213</sup>, *Jami'Saghir-i Suyuti*<sup>214</sup>, *Qasidah-i Burdah*<sup>215</sup> and *Mishkat-ul Masabih*.<sup>216</sup>

Sirhindi is also reported to have made contact and benefited from another eminent scholar of *Hadith* Shaikh Abdur Rahman.<sup>217</sup> Thus he acquired command of all religious sciences and was, at the young age of seventeen, an erudite scholar and divine.<sup>218</sup> Fully equipped with Islamic learnings, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi now himself started imparting instructions in his ancestral seminary at Sirhind, and overnight his name and fame spread through the length and breath of the Mughal Empire. Students poured in joining his institution and benefiting from his scholarly and divine guidance. It is reported he imparted with great zeal and devotion by explaining the subtle intricacies of Islamic theology.<sup>219</sup>



At this point it seems necessary to make it known that Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, as has been already mentioned, belonged to a family specially known for its piety, scholarship and spirituality. His ancestors and father had been among the popular *Mashaikh* (saints), of their times. Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi, Sirhindi's father, had earned high reputation and popularity as a sufi in northern India. He had authority to initiate disciples in different mystical orders. His interest in and interpretations of the philosophy of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*, (Unity of Being) or the 'Unity of Existence', had also ranked him among the widely known sufi scholars in the country.<sup>220</sup>

Naturally, therefore, Shaikh Ahmad, keeping in view the spiritual background of his father and fore-fathers, also developed interest, in his early youth, into the spiritual aspect of Islam. His father's guidance prompted him to speedily run into this field as well. Accordingly, it is reported in sources that on the completion of his formal religious education in ancestral seminary at Sirhind, Shaikh Ahmad's father, Shaikh Abdul Ahad, initiated him into his own mystic discipline by authorizing him as his Khalifa in different Sufi Silsilahs like the Chishtiyah, Suhrawardiyah, Qadiriyyah, Faruqiah, Kubrawiyah, Qalandariyah, Madariya etc. Shaikh Abdul Ahad also created in his son a deep sense of interest and understanding of the concept of Tawhid-i Wujudi (*Wahdat-ul Wujud*), by teaching him Shaikh-i Akbar Muhiyuddin Ibn 'Arabi's monumental works, the *Fusus-ul Hikam* and the *Futuh-at-i Makkiya*. Sirhindi also studied under his father the *Awarif-ul Ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. Inculcating great love for Islamic spirituality the Tasawwaf, in his learned son, Shaikh Abdul Ahad also declared Ahmad Sirhindi as his spiritual successor.<sup>221</sup>

Moreover, after completing his advanced studies under the guidance of Shaikh Yaqub Sarafi Kashmiri in Siyalkot, Shaikh Ahmad was initiated by the latter into his mystic discipline (*Halqah-i iradat*). Shaikh Yaqub conferred his Khilafat on Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in the Suhrawardiyah and the Kubrawiyah orders.<sup>222</sup> Thus we see that at the age of seventeen-eighteen Shaikh Ahmad had acquired the complete status of an *alim* and a *sufi*. The students in his seminary also sought his guidance in spiritual matter and discussed minute points of Islamic mysticism with him.

Sources say Ahmad Sirhindi was fully aware of the situation at the royal court since his very boyhood and would seriously try to be completely informed of all the latest steps of the Mughal Emperors in regard to his religious experiments and activities contrary to Islamic laws and teachings. The location of his home town (Sirhind) was significant in those days from religious, political, commercial, educational, administrative and strategic points of view. All the travellers and caravans whether commercial or consisting of political, spiritual, literary as well as learned personalities, groups of pilgrims and military troops enroute to Lahore, Peshawar, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Central Asia from Delhi and Agra passed through Sirhind.<sup>223</sup>

These travellers must have told the people of Sirhind about the situation, whether socio-religious or political, to have taken place, especially among the royal circles, in the Mughal capital. It is not, therefore, beyond presumption that Shaikh Ahmad, on his own part also would get information from members of these caravans about the situation at Mughal Court. The contemporary records inform that he used to be deeply perturbed at the religious experiments of Akbar. He decided to accept the challenge and left no stone unturned in this

regard. He took the task of preaching the importance of spiritual values in man's life by reviving people's interest in *Shariah*. But for this purpose he considered it necessary to personally witness the situation at and around the Mughal Court. Consequently he left for Agra in 998 A.H./1583 A.D.<sup>224</sup> and stayed there for about nine years. During this long span of time he seriously observed the unhappy and deteriorating religious environment at Akbar's court and endeavoured to sincerely diagnose this social illness and provide its best cure.<sup>225</sup>

At Agra Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi first of all made contact with eminent nobles (*umara*), of the empire and the *ulema* and *Mashaikh* of the capital. According to the *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, Shaikh Ahmad, during his stay at Agra was in close contact with Faizi and Abul Fazl. Both these renowned Mughal nobles scholars are reported to have shown deep regards to the saint. They always held him in high esteem. Sirhindi frequently visited these brothers and discussed various subjects with them. Hashim Kashmi has recorded an interesting event of a discussion between him and Abul Fazl on Greek philosophers, and their metaphysical thought and rational approach. When during the discussion, Abul Fazl preferred their views and ideas to Islamic thought and teachings and called Imam Ghazali<sup>226</sup> stupid, Sirhindi very boldly expressed his angry remarks and, annoyed by his (Abul Fazl's) comment against Imam Ghazali, left the place saying if he (Abul Fazl) didn't know how to behave he should not sit in scholarly gatherings. He then avoided Abul Fazl for next few days. Finally, the great Mughal noble apologized and invited Sirhindi to his residence.<sup>227</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad also maintained friendly terms with Faizi who too was highly impressed by the Shaikh's erudite personality and sincerely regarded his scholarship. On one occasion Sirhindi went to Faizi's house and found him writing his famous dotless (bi nuqt) exegesis (*tafsir*) of the Quran entitled as the *Sawati-ul Ilham*.<sup>228</sup> Faizi at that time was involved in certain intricacies he could not unravel. So he sought the Shaikh's help. Though Sirhindi was not in the habit of writing in undotted words, he solved Faizi's problem and wrote a few pages. This greatly surprised Faizi.<sup>229</sup> Similarly, it appears that Sirhindi also made contact with several other nobles during his stay at Agra. Though there is no clear evidence of Ahmad Sirhindi's any meeting with Akbar but it appears from one of his treatises, as has been quoted by Hashim Kishmi as well, in the *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, that on some occasions he attended the royal gatherings at the court in presence of the Emperor.<sup>230</sup> In short his long stay at the Mughal Capital provided him with an opportunity to deeply understand the religious condition of the time.

Accordingly, having observed the entire situation he felt great anxiety and distress. Therefore his reaction to Akbar's thought and activities was very powerful, and he openly criticized his attitude towards Islam and Muslims. His works *rasail* (brochures and treatises), and *Maktubat* (epistles), reveal clearly that he was fully aware of the personal religious outlook of the Emperor. The most serious thing he observed and witnessed that Akbar and his followers were denying the prophecy of Prophet Muhammad and trying to invest it (prophecy) to Akbar by calling him God's prophet. He also witnessed that these people were renouncing *Wahi* (Divine Revelation to Prophets), and discarding *mojizat* (prophetic miracles). Sirhindi also found a section of *ulama* responsible for bringing Islam to this deteriorating situation. Similarly he thought that

Akbar's religious experiments were also fed by the mystic ideology of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* the 'Unity of Being' which, when indiscriminately applied to situation, weakened the distinctive features of faith and created an atmosphere of moral holiday.<sup>231</sup> Therefore, as we will notice hereafter, he enunciated a counter theory known as *Wahdut-ush Shuhud* and defined the mystic concept pertaining to *hal* (State), and *maqamat* (stations), in the light of the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* (the Prophet's traditions ).

Since the most damaging act of Akbar and his followers, including Abul Fazl, in the eyes of Ahmad Sirhindi, as pointed out above, was the denial of the Prophecy of prophets, in general and the Prophecy of Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, in particular, he therefore, still at Agra, wrote a treatise signifying the necessity of prophecy in general and the Prophecy of Prophet Muhammad in particular under the title *Ithbat-un Nabuwah*.<sup>232</sup> In 999 AH /1592 AD. Shaikh Ahmad returned to Sirhind and lived there till his father's death in 1007 AH /1598 AD. During this period, perhaps around 1000-1 AH/1593-94 AD, he produced his another famous work, the *Risalah Radd-i Rawafiz* in condemnation of Shias and their religion and religious ideology which may be called as outcome of what he observed and witnessed in Agra.<sup>233</sup>

It was in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D. that a great historic event took place in the life of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. A year after the demise of his father he decided to fulfill his years old desire of performing Hajj at Mecca and visiting the holy mausoleum of the Prophet of Islam in Madina. He, therefore, left Sirhind for this purpose and enroute to Hejaz, reached Delhi where he stayed with a friend of his college days in Siyalkot, Maulana Hasan Kashmiri.<sup>234</sup> Maulana Kashmiri informed him of a Naqshbandi saint Khwaja Baqi Billah<sup>235</sup>

who had recently come from Central Asia, settled in Delhi and become very popular among the people. On Kashmiri's much insistence, Sirhindi, in his company went to see the Khwaja who, immediately coming into View, so deeply inspired him that he joined his mystic discipline.<sup>236</sup> He considered this meeting with the Khwaja a great event in his spiritual career. Giving up the idea of going to Hajj Sirhindi now undertook mystical practices and meditation under Baqi Billah's guidance. Sources say within no time Shaikh Ahmad was enlightened by the saint. The Khwaja then conferred his *Khilafat* upon Sirhindi in the month of Rajab 1008 AH, January 1600 AD.<sup>237</sup> Subsequently Shaikh Ahmad returned to Sirhind to preach the teachings of the Naqshbandi silsilah. He started correspondence with his new pir to be aware of his spiritual instructions and also to get him informed of his own mystical progress. He paid two more visits in 1601<sup>238</sup> and 1603<sup>239</sup> to the Khwaja in Delhi. It was during the second visit that Khwaja Baqi Billah declared him his Chief Khalifa and spiritual successor.<sup>240</sup> Sirhindi went for few days to Lahore where a large number of common people, including *ulama*, *sufis*, scholars etc. benefited from and were enlisted by him into the Naqshbandiya discipline.<sup>241</sup> In the mean time Baqi Billah passed away in Delhi at the age of forty on 25<sup>th</sup> Jamada II, 1012 AH/20<sup>th</sup> November 1603 AD.<sup>242</sup> Being greatly shocked he rushed to Delhi and, visiting the Khwaja's grave, called on his family members and other followers. It was his usual practice to annually visit Delhi to participate in his mentor's *urs*. Sometimes he went to Agra and on one occasion he visited Allahabad.<sup>243</sup> During this span of time Sirhindi came into close contact with some more eminent Mughal nobles like Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan, Khwaja Jahan, Mirza Aziz Koka etc.

In course of his organization of the Naqshbandi Order Sirhindi in 1619 sent Shaikh Badiuddin, one of his Khalifas, to Agra as his deputy. The latter was assigned the responsibility of preaching the Silsilash in the royal army. Badiuddin's increasing popularity among the soldiers and other inhabitants of Agra was seriously noticed by the opponents of the Shaikh at the Mughal court. According to Hashim Kishmi some of the mischievous people made publicity that he (Badiuddin) was spreading hatred among and provoking soldiers against Jahangir. Kishmi says these enemies made a strong conspiracy against Ahmad Sirhindi.<sup>244</sup> They adopted and showed an open hostility to Shaikh Ahmad. They poisoned Emperor's ears that the rising popularity of the saint could lead to political disturbances as his followers are found all over the empire. When they found themselves unsuccessful, they brought a letter of the Shaikh to the notice of Jahangir. The letter written to Khwaja Baqi Billah around 1601-2, contains the detail of the saint's spiritual journey. They told the Emperor that Shaikh Ahmad claimed to have transcended the spiritual stage of the first Pious Caliph, Abu Bakr, Siddiq-i Akbar. Accordingly, Jahangir called Ahmad Sirhindi to his court at Agra to explain accusations levelled against him. On reaching the court, sirhindi denied the charges against him and got the Emperor convinced by his arguments.<sup>245</sup> On his appearance before the king, first of all he refused to perform customary obeisance the *Sijda-i ta'zimi* to him, and when urged to observe the usual court etiquette, he replied, "I have never bowed my head to any of God's creatures and I never will".<sup>246</sup> Therefore Jahangir ordered for his imprisonment in the Gwalior fort.<sup>247</sup>

Ultimately, after a year in 1029 AH/1620 AD, Shaikh Ahmad was released from the imprisonment in Gwalior fort. Jahangir gave him a robe of honour and a present of one thousand rupees. He was given the choice of either

leaving for home or staying with the royal army. The Shaikh preferred to live in the royal camp rather than to return to Sirhind.<sup>248</sup> Accordingly wherever the royal Lashkar went Sirhindi accompanied it and this continued for more than two years.<sup>249</sup> It was in 1622 that the royal army encamped at Ajmer. Taking the advantage of his stay there, Sirhindi deeply benefited from the spiritual greatness of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti at his tomb. The servants of the shrine gave him the *chadar* of the Khwaja's grave.<sup>250</sup> Subsequently, on health ground, he left for Sirhind where he lived till his death in 1034 A.H. /1624 A.D.

### **Khalifas of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi**

The most senior of the Mujaddids Khalifas was Mir Muhammad Numan. The Mir's grandfather, Mir Jalaluddin, and great-grandfather, Saiyid Hamiduddin, had been Alims in Transoxiana. Mirs father Mir Shamsuddin Yahya Badakhshani, was born in Kishm a district of Badakhshan. Numan was born in 1569-70. At the invitation of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's faster brother and viceroy in Kabul. After the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585, Akbar appointed Raja Man Singh as his new governor in Kabul.

In 1609-10, the Mujaddid appointed Mir Muhammad Numan as his deputy at Burhanpur. However he failed to make any impact on the local people because of the great popularity of Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlullah Burhanpuri. The letters written by the Mujaddid about the popularity of Mir Muhammad Numan indicate which group of Muslims Mir, attracted as disciples. The *Hazarat-ul quds* ignores the first failure of the Mir in Burhanpur but includes an outlandish account of the popularity of the Mir, even asserting that 100,000 Uzbek horsemen became the Mir's disciples in Burhanpur. Although Akbar and Jahangir would never have been so rash as to dispatch



such a large military force composed of a single racial group to one outpost, it is probable that some newly arrived uzbek soldiers did become disciples of Mir Muhammad Numan. Sometime before his death the Mujaddid sent another Khalifa, Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, to Burhanpur. It is not known whether the Mir and the Khwaja collaborated as missionaries or whether the Mir left for Sirhind or elsewhere Mir Muhammad Numan died after 1642-43.<sup>251</sup>

Another senior disciple of the Mujaddid was Lahore's Shaikh Muhammad Tahir. He obtained a highly competent education as a theologian and was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shaikh Kamal of Kaithal. He fell in love with a Hindu girl. He adopted the life style of the Hindus. Shaikh Tahir then totally renounced his love, once more becoming a disciple of the Mujaddid.<sup>252</sup> In Lahore, Shaikh Tahir leading a totally retired life, he refused to associate with the non-spiritual and rejected any *futuh* (gift) or land grant. His daily bread was paid for out of a small income from copies of religious manuscripts which he transcribe and also from paltry gifts from the pious. He wrote to him that the *Malamati* way of life was incompatible with the duties of a sufi leader and a missionary, he died in Sirhind in August 1630.<sup>253</sup>

Shaikh Badruddin, another talented disciple of the Mujaddid, came from his pirs hometown of Sirhind. He began to literary career, starting with a book entitled the *Siyar-i Ahmadi*, in which he discussed the mystical achievement of the Mujaddid. *Karamat ul-Auliya*, he then translated the *Futuh-al Ghayb* into Persian and compiled a dictionary of the technical terms used in the Naqshbandiyya and Qadiriyya teachings entitled the *Rawaih*. He also wrote a book called the *sanwat-i Atqiya*. Later he entered the service of Dara Shukoh and was commissioned to translate into Persian the *Bahjat-al Asrar*, an Arabic

biography of Shaikh Abdul Qadir. He then translated another biographical account of Shaikh Abdul Qadir entitled the *Rauzat-al Nawazir* from Arabic into Persian. Finally he turned to the task of completing the *Hazarat ul Quds*.<sup>254</sup>

Of these of the Mujaddids Khalifa for whom biographical details have been given above, fourteen were from Samarqand, Bukhara and Kabul Regions. Six from Panjab region, two were from Saharanpur, one from Kara Manikpur, one from Bihar, and one from Bengal. Both the *Zabdat al-Maqamat* and the *Hazrat-ul quds* suggest that the khalifas of the Mujaddid considered miracles the most important factor in the sufic discipline. Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi considered the disciples of the Mujaddid to be indiscreet in recounting the Mujaddids claims to mystical achievements. He divided them into three categories :

- (i) Those who had a blind faith in the Mujaddids teachings and were unwilling to exercise their own judgement.
- (ii) Those who considered the Mujaddids teachings to be based on sukr.
- (iii) Those who believed the Mujaddids teaching to have been divinely inspired.

It might also be added in defence of the khalifas of the Mujaddid that, as mentioned before, their pir himself claimed that God had made him the Mujaddid of the second millennium and had conferred upon his successor the title of *Qaiyum*. To many of his disciples he gave the title of *Qutb* (pole) of their respective regions, a very high rank in the sufi hierarchy.<sup>255</sup>

In 1657 Shaikh Muhammad Masum, his elder brother Muhammad said, his younger brother, Shaikh Muhammad Yahya about one hundreds dervishes,

left for Mecca. In February 1659, when Aurangzeb was en route to Agra after his victory over Shah Shuja at Khajwa (near Allahabad), he was meet by Shaikh Muhammad said and Shaikh Muhammad Masum to whom he offered a gift of 300 *Ashrafis*. After the weighting ceremony of the Emperor's 43<sup>rd</sup> solar birthday (1660), Shaikh Muhammad said received a *Khilat* (Robe) and two thousand rupees.<sup>256</sup>

## References

1. For his detailed account, see, Shaikh Ruknuddin, (son and successor of Shaikh Abdul Quddus), *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, Delhi, 1311 AH, Also Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, Kanpur (Nawal Kishore), 1890, pp. 97-101. Also, Nizami, K.A. *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, vol. 1, Delhi, 1980, pp. 272-4.
2. *Irshad-ut Talibin*, Amritsar, 1327/1909, p. 227.
3. S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1983, p. 279.
4. Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinat-ul Asfiya*, Seminar-i Hind Press, Lucknow, 1873, p. 498.
5. *A History of Sufism in India*, pp. 70-71, 141, 343.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 275-76.
7. Form of vocal music performed in slow or medium tempo.
8. A special tune for singing Vaishnavite songs.
9. Ali Asghar, *Jawahir-i Faridi*, Lahore, 1884, p. 383, according to Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi, Shaikh Salim was born in 1491-92, p. 283.
10. Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi, *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, Mujtabi Press, New Delhi, 1332 AH/1914 AD, p. 243.
11. *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, p. 280.
12. Mohammad Ghausi Shattari, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, Rotograph No. 174, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, f. 321b.
13. Mohammad Ali Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 76-79.
14. Najmuddin Nagauri, *Manaqibul Mahbubin*, Rampur, 1289 AH/1872-73 AD, p. 45.
15. Shaikh Kalimullah Jahanabadi, *Maktubat-i Kalimi*, New Delhi, 1898, Letter No. 6.

16. *A History of Sufism in India*, II, pp. 295-96.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
18. Abdul Haiy Hasani, *Nuzhat al-Khawatir*, vol. I, Hyderabad, 1976, p. 197.
19. In fact the date and year of his birth is not mentioned in any contemporary or later work. The year 927 A.H. (1520 A.D.) seems correct as his year of birth because at the time of his death in 1007 A.H./ 1598 A.D. he was eighty years old.
20. The details of his ancestors is as follows :  
 Abdul Ahad, S/o Zain al-Abidin, S/o Abdul Haiy, S/o Shaiih Muhammad, s/o Habibullah, S/o Imam Rafiduddin, S/o Nasiruddin, S/o Sulaiman, S/o Yusuf, S/o Ishaq, S/o Abdullah, S/o Abdullah, S/o Shoeb, S/o Ahmad, s/o Abdullah, S/o Farrukh Shah Kabuli, s/o Nasiruddin, S/o Mohammad, s/o Sulaiman, S/o Masud, S/o Abdullah Al-Waiz Al-Asghar, S/o Abdullah Al-Waiz Al-akbar, S/o Abu Al-fath, s/o Ishaq, S/o Ibrahim, S/o Nasir, S/o Abdullah, S/o Umar Al-faru Al-Azam, the Second Pious caliph, s/o al-Khattab. See, Mohammad Hashim Kishmi, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, Kanpur (Nawal Kishore), 1890, pp. 88-89. Also Kamaluddin Mohammad Ihsan, *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya* (Urdu trans.), Lahore, 1335 A.H., p. 129.
21. *Zubdat-alMaqamat*, p. 92.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 92. It may be mentioned here that almost all the sufi teachers always emphasized that the seekers of spiritual knowledge should first complete their formal religious education and then join mystic fold.
23. It seems Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi had instructed his son Shaikh Ruknuddin to initiate Abdul Ahad Faruqi into his mystic discipline. See, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 92 and Kamaluddin Mohammad Ihsan, *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya*, Part-I, Urdu translation, Lahore, 1335 AH, p. 129.
24. For details, See, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 92.

25. Zawwar Husain Shah, *Hazrat Muiyuddid Alf-i Thani*, Karachi, 1975, p. 50.
26. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 110.
27. Abdul Hai, *Nuzhat-al Khawatir*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad, 1973, p. 208.
28. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 111.
29. Ibid.
30. A famous Chishti saint of Jaunpur. He was spiritually related to Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh of Delhi through two means, his pir and grand pir. See, *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya*, p. 31.  
  
Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi has written about him in detail. See, *Akhbar-al Akhyar*, Delhi, 1332 A.H., pp. 197-198.  
  
Also see, Enamul Haq, 'Sufi Movement in Bengal', *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. III, No. 1, July, 1948, p. 19.
31. For his details, see Dara Shikoh, *Safinat al-auliya* (Urdu tarns.), Deoband, n.d., p. 226.
32. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 112.
33. Ibid., pp. 108-109.
34. It was the time when Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was staying at Agra for several years. In fact, Shaikh Abdul Ahad went to Agra just to take back his son, Shaikh Ahmad, to Sirhind. It appears he visited Agra in 998-99 A.H./ (1589-90) as on his way back to Sirhind, the marriage of Shaikh Ahmad with the daughter of Shaikh Sultan was held at Thanesar. The marriage took place only a year before the birth of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhind's eldest son Khwaja Mohammad Sadiq in 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.). Accordingly, it may be assumed that Shaikh Abdul Ahad went to Agra in 999 A.H./ (1590 A.D.).
35. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 126.
36. See, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani* (the collection of Shaikh Ahmad sirhind's letters), Vol. II, letter no. 44 (Turkish edition), Istanbul, 1977.

37. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 112.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
39. *Ibid.*, p.118.
40. *Ibid.*, p.120.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 105. Also, *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya*, Vol. I (Urdu), p. 130.
44. Detailed information is not available in any contemporary or letter source. The *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, only says that he was an aged sufi and mostly remained absorbed with spirituality. He generally passed his time in forests. When Shaikh Abdul Ahad heard about his miraculous power, he developed interest to meet and benefit from Shaikh Abdul Ghani.
45. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp. 113-15.
46. *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya*, p. 33.
47. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 122
48. There is no tomb or building. The Makhdum's grave is under open sky. The whole scene is very attractive and peaceful. For the peace and the beauty of this place, See, Sabir Qaderi Sandilvi, *Daman-i Mahboob*, (the Collection of Hamd Na't and Manaqib – the poems in praise of God, the Prophet of Islam, his Companions, Family Members and eminent Sufis), Lucknow, 1986, p. 186.
49. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 113. Also, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter No. 44.
50. See, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol. II, Letter No. 44.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, letter No. 31.
52. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 123.

53. Khwaja Muhammad Masum, *Makhtubat-i Ma'sumiya*, Vol. II, Lucknow, 1917, letter No. 29. It may be noted here that Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi laid great emphasis on the love for the Prophet of Islam, *Ishq-i Rasool*. He himself had developed highest degree of love for the prophet. He also deeply loved the members of the Prophet's family – *Ahl-i Bait*. According to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, he used to say that *muhabbat-i ahl-i bait* plays important role in protecting the faith, i.e. *Iman*, and happy end of life. The Makhdum is mentioned to have said at the time of his death that he was completely sunk in the river of the Prophet's love. See, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 123; Also see, Nadvi, Syed Abdul Hasan Ali, *Tarikh-i d'awat wa Azimat*, Vol. IV, Delhi, 1980, p. 136.
54. *Gulzar-i Abrar*, Tashkent, MS. ff. 92a-b.
55. Ibid., f. 135b.
56. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Calcutta, 1877, pp. 155-56.
57. A.S. Beveridge, tr. *Baburnama II*, reprint, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 539-40.
58. *Gulzar-i Abrar*, f. 173a.
59. A.S. Beveridge, tr. *Akbarnama*, (English translation), Calcutta, 1939, p. 353, n.4.
60. *Gulzar-I Abrar*, ff. 275a-b.
61. Ibid., f. 278b.
62. Ibid., ff. 266a-b.
63. Ibid., f. 252b.
64. Ibid., f. 263a.
65. Muhammad Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, Calcutta, 1850-74, pp. 553-54.
66. Bakhtawar Khan, *Mirat-ul Alam*, Lucknow, 1979, f. 449b, *Riyaz-ul Auliya*, f. 95a.



67. E.G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, III, Reprinted, Cambridge, 1964, pp. 463-73, Abdul Aziz bin Sher Malik, *manaqib-i Hazrat Shah Nimatullah Wali*, British Museum MS, Rieu II, 833a.
68. *A History of Sufism in India*, pp. 404-5.
69. *Burhan-i-Maasir*, p. 74.
70. M. Qasim Hindu Shah Farishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, Lucknow, n.d., p. 329.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-55.
72. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 205.
73. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 53-54, 83, 168, 233.
74. Abdul qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, Calcutta, 1899, p. 91, *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 206.
75. S.A.A. Rizvi, op.cit., pp. 183, 185, 291, 331.
76. *Khazinat-ul Asfiya*, I, pp. 132-33, 184.
77. A Mughal Bigha was approximately five eighths of an acre.
78. *Khazinat ul Asfiya*, I, p. 127.
79. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 104-08.
80. Khwaja Muhammad Azam Didamari, *Waqiat-i Kashmir or Tarikh-i Azami*, Lahore, 1303/1886, pp. 108-9.
81. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Tashkent Ms. f. 254 b, Manchester, MS f. 287a.
82. Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud belonged to Agra but in his old age migrated to Panipat where he died (*Akhbar-ul Akhyar* p. 234).
83. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, pp. 241-42.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
85. Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut tawarikh*, II, Calcutta, 1895-99, p. 258.
86. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 243.

87. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movement in northern India in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century*, Munshiram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 148-51.
88. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, pp. 168-74.
89. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 302.
90. Ibid., p. 304.
91. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, pp. 92-93.
92. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, pp. 308-9.
93. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, pp. 272, 341, 353.
94. Ibid., p. 310.
95. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 307.
96. Ibid., pp. 306-7.
97. S.A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fathpur Sikri*, Bombay 1975, pp. 14, 30-31, 34.
98. *Gulzar-i Abrar*, Tashkent MS, f. 323a. Manchester MS, f. 370b.
99. Hamadani, *Kalimat-us Sadiqin*, compiled in 1614, Ms. Research Library, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, p. 245. According to Muhammad Sadiq, Ghausul-Azam Shaikh Abdul Qadir suggested the idea to Shaikh Abdul Haqq in a Dream.
100. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 283.
101. Muhammad Sadiq, who knew both Shaikh Nurul Haqq and Khwaja Husamuddin intimately, says that Shahjahan impressed with the abilities of the Shaikh from the time he was a prince, had appointed him the Qazi of Akbarabad. This post he held until 1048/1638-39.
102. The work contains the list of the narrators of Ahadis in the Mishkat.
103. Dara Shukoh, *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, Kanpur, 1900, pp. 33, 42-43, 50.
104. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, pp. 286-87.
105. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, pp. 209-11.

106. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, pp. 335-53.
107. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 208.
108. *Akhbar-ul Asfiya*, India office MS. f. 32b. Abdul Rahman, *Mirat-ul Asrar*, Ms. Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, ff. 452a-454a, *Maarij ul-wilayat*, f. 505a.
109. *Siyar-ul Arifin* by Jamali Kanbo Dehlawi, p. 177.
110. *Jamali*, p. 178.
111. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 228. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, p. 347.
112. Abbas Khan Sherwani, *Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shahi* or *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Dacca, 1964, p.161.
113. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, p. 16.
114. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 76-7.
115. *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. I, pp. 288-89.
116. Khwaja Ubaidullah's father, Khwaja Mahmud Shashi, and grandfather, were also Sufis and were closely associated with the Naqshbandiyya disciples of Shaikh Umar, Husain Al-Waiz Kashifi, *Rashahat Ain-ul Hayat*, Lucknow, 1912, pp. 208-20.
117. Imam Abu Bakr Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Abdullah al-Qaffal al Marwazi was a native of Marv and later settled in Shash (Tashkent), he worked as a locksmith.
118. Abdul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1949, pp. 202-3.
119. Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, *Nasamat-ul quds*, Tashkent, Ms, f. 233a.
120. Khwaja Muinuddin, *Mirat-i taiyibat*, Raza Library, Rampur Ms ff. 86b-87a.
121. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 5.
122. Badruddin Sirhindi, *Hazarat-al Quds*, vol. 1 (Urdu Translation), Lahore 1343, p. 215.

123. Shaikh Umar Yaghistani, belonged to Baghistan, a town situated near Tashqand, and geneologically he was the seventh descendant of Umar al-Faruq, the second pious Caliph of Islam. Shaikh Umar's tomb is still in Tabrez in Central Asia. For details see, Ali bin Husain al-Waiz al-Kashifi, *Rashahat-i Ain-al Hayat*, Kanpur 1911, pp. 208-09.
124. Also an important saint of Central Asia. He left a deep impact on his contemporaries specially the rulers and occupies a significant place in the history of Islam in that region. For his biographical and other details see Kashifi, *op.cit.*, pp.220-30.
125. *Hazarat-al Quds* (Urdu), vol. I, p. 215.
126. Maulana Sadiq Halwai was among the leading divines of Transoxiana. On his return from Mecca, after Hajj, he made a sojourn at Kabul on the request of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Afghanistan. Baqi Billah came into contact with him during this period. He is also reported to have visited India during the reign of Emperor Akbar and returned home in 972/1564-5. See, Muhammad Baqa, *Mirat-i Jahan Numa*, (MS), (British Museum/ Rotograph in the Research Library, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh), f273 a.
127. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.6.
128. Loc.cit.
129. *Ibid*, pp.6-7.
130. *Ibid.*, p.8. It may be mentioned that traditional accounts of eminent founders of different silsilahs almost invariably contain story of contact with mystic ecstasies. Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti also is reported to have been influenced by a *Majzub*. see, *Siyar-al Arifin* (Rotograph in History Research Library, A.M.U.).
131. He resided at 'Garh Mukteshwar', a town in the present Meerut district of U.P., and expired there in 1002/1593. For his biographical details see Badauni, *op.cit.* vol III, p.58.

132. Syed Ali qawam, a famous Chishti saint, was a Khalifa of Shaikh Badruddin of Jaunpur, a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Nasiruddin Charagh of Delhi. For his details see *Safinat-al Auliya*, p.190.
133. All Naqshabandi Mujaddidi sources refer to her as a pious lady who was keenly devoted to the religion and the service of the saints. She is also reported to have accompanied Baqi Billah to Delhi where he settled down permanently. See *Zubdat-al Maqamat*. pp.8-9.
134. He was the descendant of Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi, the founder of the *Silsilah-i Khwajgan*. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp.8-9.
135. Khwaja Obaid (Not Obaidullah Ahrar), was a Khalifa of Maulana Lutfullah, a follower of Khwajgi Dahbidi who resided near Samarqand. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.9.
136. Also a famous saint of Central Asia. No detail is available in historical records.
137. Born in 718 AH/1318 AD at Qasr-i Arifin near Bukhara, Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband was the founder of the Naqshbandi silsilah. Since his early boyhood he was keenly devoted to spiritual practices and meditation. Later he became a disciple of Saiyid Amir Kulal (ob. 772/1564). He also benefited from the spirit of Khwaja Abdul Khaliq Ghajdawani. Khwaja Bahauddin strictly followed the shariat and practices according to *Hanafite* school. For the biographical details, see, Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami, *Nafahat-al Uns*, Calcutta, 1968, pp.439-53.  
  
Also, *Rashahat-i Ain-al Hayat*, pp.53-55, *Safinat-al Auliya*, p.78.
138. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.10.
139. A Naqshbandi saint and Khalifa of Shaikh Husain Khwarizmi, Baba Wali belonged to Khwarizm. He also, joined the mystic disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Kubrawi. He came to Kashmir in 999/1590-1 and stayed at the *Khanqah* of Syed Ali Hamadani. In Kashmir he attracted a

large number of people and became *asylum* for all of them. When Mirza Yadgar rebelled against Emperor Akbar, Baba Wali vehemently criticised him and predicted a great success of Akbar. It is said that Mirza Yadgar had given poison to him. He expired in 1001/1593. For details see, Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, *Khazinat-al Asfiya*, vol.II, Kanpur, 1914, p.337. Also Muhammad Azam Shah, *Waqiat-i Kashmir*, Lahore, 1303 AH, p.110.

140. But according to Shah Waliullah, Khwaja Baqi Billah, after the death of Shaikh Baba Wali, came to Delhi and made a sojourn at the shrine of Shaikh Abdul Aziz whose son and successor Shaikh Qutb ul-Alam warmly received and gave him spiritual training. The latter also conferred his Khilafat in the Chishti discipline upon Baqi Billah and exhorted him to go to Central Asia and meet eminent saints there. See *Anfas-al Arifin* (Urdu Translation), Deoband n.d., p.353. The contemporary records especially *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, and *Hazarat-al Quds* provide no such information and only say that from Kashmir Khwaja Baqi Billah returned to Central Asia.
141. An eminent Naqshbandi saint of Central Asia, Maulana Khwaji Amkangi was the Khalifa of his father Maulana Derwish Muhammad. He expired in a ripe age of ninety years in 1008/1599 in Amkana, a town near Samarqand. *Hazarat-al Quds*, (Urdu) Vol. I, pp. 210-13.
142. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 11.
143. It is reported that once Khwaja Baqi Billah saw a dream that a beautiful bird was sitting on his hand and he was poaring the saliva of his mouth into her beak. In return, the bird gave him the particles of sugar. When next morning the Khwaja related the dream to his spiritual mentor, he told him that such type of bird was found in India. He said to Baqi Billah that he should go to Hindustan and propagate the Naqshbandi silsilah there. Maulana Amkangi also foretold that in India a great

spiritual personality of the time would come into contact with and join the mystic discipline of Khwaja Baqi Billah. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.140.

144. Ibid.
145. K.A. Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1985, p.163.
146. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp.14-32, *Hazrat-al Quds* (Urdu), Vol. I, pp. 221-22.
147. Ibid.
148. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp.15-6.
149. Ibid., p.32. Also *Kulliyat-i Khwaja Baqi Billah*, Lahore, 1968, p.65.
150. Ibid., pp.61-66. *Hazrat-al Quds* (Urdu), Vol. I, pp.26-65., Maulana Nasim Ahmad Faridi is of the opinion that Khwaja Obaidullah was the younger son of Khwaja Baqi Billah and he was known as "Khwaja Khurd" whereas the elder son was Khwaja Abdullah who was commonly called "Khwaja Kalan". The Maulana's statement is based on the treatise *Asrariya*, produced by Syed Muhammad Kamal Sambhali in 1069 A.H. See, *Tuzkira-i Khwaja Baqi Billah*, Lucknow, 1978, pp. 39-66. But the information supplied by the *Zubdat-al Maqamat* and the *Hazrat-al Quds* seems more accurate and authentic. Moreover, the famous work of Khwaja Kalan *Mubligi-al Rijal* also refers to its author as Obaidullah. The manuscript of this work is possessed by Maulana Azad Library of A.M.U., Aligarh. In the beginning of the book, the author (Khwaja Kalan) gives his name as Obaidullah. It appears that the manuscript was both written and transcribed in 1066 A.H. If there had been any controversy between his real name and alias, he would not have approved it.
151. The contemporary and later sources present them as eminent scholars and authors of various books. The elder son Khwaja Obaidullah, as mentioned above, produced a Persian treatise *Mubligh-al Rijal* which

throws valuable light on the religious condition of Akbar's and Jahangir's reigns. Besides Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh, the India Office Library also owns a manuscript of this work. For a detailed introduction, See, Muhammad Aslam, *Tarikh-i Maqalat*, New Delhi, 1970.p.61-82. Obaidullah, Khwaja Kalan, compiled another work *Tazkira-i Mashaikh*, which consists of one lakh poetic verses in praise of different Muslim saints. *Hazarat-al Quds*, vol. I, (Urdu), p.261. The younger son of Khwaja Baqi Billah, Abdullah, generally known as 'Khwaja Khurd' was also a renowned scholar. He had been a teacher of Shah Abdur Rahim, a famous Muslim Scholar as well as the sufi saint of the eighteenth century and the illustrious father of Shah Waliullah of Delhi. For details see, *Anfas-al Arifin* (Urdu), p.58.

152. Both these sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah were eminent saints of their time. For their mystical achievements, see, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp.61-69 and *Hazrat al-Quds*, Vol. I, (Urdu), pp.260-65. Also see, *Anfas-al Arifin* (Urdu), pp.57-65, *Tazkira Khwaja Baqi Billah*, pp.39-83.
153. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, New Delhi, 1974, pp.192-93.
154. Although he composed quite a few books and treatises, his main fame rests upon his 534 Persian letters, known as *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, run into three volumes. These letters presents an accurate picture of his mystical, as well as religious accomplishments, and reveal his scholarly approach. For his biography and other details, see, *Zubdat al-Maqamat*, *Hazrat-al Quds*, Vol.II, *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya*, by Khwaja Kamaluddin Muhammad Ehsan. Moreover, a number of modern works both in Urdu and in English are also available.
155. Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in Indian Subcontinent*, Brill-Leiden, 1980, p.91.
156. It is said that Shaikh Abdul Haqq had spiritually been directed by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, to join the Naqshbadi discipline of Khwaja



Baqi Billah and become his disciple. See, Sadiq Hamadani, *Kalimat-al Sadiqin* compiled in 1614 AD (MS). F.96a. The Shaikh himself writes in his treatise *Risala-i Wasiyat Nama*. "When I returned to India, I got an opportunity to meet Khwaja Mahammad Baqi Naqshbandi, for a long time, I performed Naqshbandi practices and spiritual exercises and received the training of *zikr*, *maraqaba*, *rabta*, and *Yad Dasht* under him. See, K.A. Nizami, *Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq of Muhaddis Dehlawi*, New Delhi, 1953, pp. 136-37.

157. A brother-in-law of Faizi and Abul Fazl, Khwaja Husamuddin had been in the royal service of Emperor Akbar. But due to their hostility towards Islam, he openly criticised them and their policies as, since his very boyhood, he was attracted towards Islamic religion and its saints. This fondness of Muslim mystics ultimately made him relinquish his job. Later, he reached Delhi and met Khwaja Baqi Billah and after some time became his disciple. Husamuddin lived rest of his life at the Khanqah of the Khwaja and when the latter died, the whole responsibility of the Khanqah went to Shaikh Husamuddin. He looked after his master's children and took care of the visitors of the shrine. He died on 29th Ramazan 1040/ 22nd March 1631. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp. 70-77; *Hazarat-al Quds* (Urdu), Vol. I, pp.270-275.
158. He too was a devout Khalifa and an old companion of Khwaja Baqi Billah. He had joined the saint at Lahore during his first visit. The Khwaja, at his departure for Central Asia, had left him at Lahore as his deputy. He accompanied Baqi Billah to Delhi and remained there throughout his life. All the responsibilities of the *langer khana* (free kitchen) of the Khanqah of Khwaja Baqi Billah were assigned to him. He died in Ramazan 1049-1639 and was buried near the grave of his spiritual mentor. See, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp.78-85, *Hazarat-al Quds*, pp. 275-276.

159. Another Khalifa of Khwaja Baqi Billah. Previously he had affiliation in *Chishtiya* order with Shaikh Allah Bakhshi of Garh Mukteshwar in Meerut district. The Khwaja had deputed him to his native town, Sambhal, and asked to popularize Naqshbandi teachings there. After the Khwaja's death, Tajuddin first visited Kashmir and then went to Mecca for Hajj pilgrimage. There he came into contact with an erudite scholar and mystic Shaikh Muhammad Ilan who after some time joined his mystic fold. During his stay at *Mecca* Shaikh Tajuddin translated some renowned Persian works into Arabic, such as *Rashahat-i Ain-al Hayat* of Kashifi. When his favourite disciple Shaikh Ilan passed away, Tajuddin left for India but after a brief stay there he again migrated to Mecca via Lahore and Basrah. There he settled near the *kaba* where he breathed his last on 22nd Rabiulawwal 1052 AH/1642 AD. For details see, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp. 86-87, *Hazarat-al Quds*, pp.265-270.
160. *Kulliyat-i Khwaja Baqi Billah*, p. 20.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Zubdat al-Maqamat*, p. 56.
163. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Kulliyat*, Kanpur, 1891-92, p. 21.
164. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 49.
165. Sadiq Hamadani, *op.cit.*, f. 104.
166. *Kulliyat*, p. 133.
167. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 36.
168. *Kulliyat*, p. 22.
169. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
170. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp. 22-24.
171. *Kulliyat*, p. 22.
172. *Ibid.*, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 54.

173. An important sufi practice which is enjoyed by visualising the spiritual mentor as a source of spiritual inspiration. Almost all the sufi-saints rely upon it for their inner development.
174. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 17.
175. *Ibid.*
176. *Hazarat-al Quds*, Vol. I (Urdu), p. 230.
177. *Ibid.*
178. *Ibid.*
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*, Also *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 42.
182. *Hazarat-al Quds*, p. 230.
183. *Muktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. I, Letter No. 43; Also *Mubligh-al Rijal* (MS 0. f34b).
184. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 38.
185. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, I, Karachi, 1961, pp. 242-43, Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul umara*, II, Calcutta, 1888-91, pp. 878-79.
186. Mohd. Ashraf Jahangir Simanni, *Maktubat*, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, I, no. 266 to Khwaja Abdullah and Ubaidullah.
187. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 86, *Hazarat-ul quds*, I, p. 275.
188. See; K.A. Nizami's article: "*The Naqshbandiyya Order*" in *Islamic Spirituality* (ed.) Saiyed Hussain Nasr, Vol. II, New York, 1991, pp. 162, 183-84, 187-88.
189. Saiyid Muhiyuddin Abul Kalam Azad, (Maulana Azad), *Tazkira*, New Delhi, (Sahitya Academy), 1968, pp. 263-64; Also, *The Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam*, pp. 192-93.

190. K.A. Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, New Delhi (Adam Publisher), 1985, p. 160.
191. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 127; *Hazarat-ul Quds*, Volume II, Lahore (Punjab Waqf Board), 1971, p. 31.
192. For historical background of Sirhind, See: Fauja Singh, ed. *Sirhind Through the Ages*, Patiala (Panjab University), 1972.
193. For the details of Shaikh Abdul Ahad (Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's father), see; the present author's article', "*Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi: A Renowned Sixteenth Century Sufi of South Asia*" ed. D.S.Gaikward, Dr. K.N Chitnis Felicitation Volume: Some Aspects of Medieval India, Mumbai, (Samant Publications), 2006, pp. 47-60.
194. For his details, see: Hamid Jamali, *Bin Fazlullah, Siyar-ul Arifin*, Delhi (Matba'-i Rizvi) 1311 A.H., pp. 155-65. Also: *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, pp. 139-40.
195. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 90; Also: *Sirhind Through the Ages*, p. 14.
196. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 88-89.
197. Kamaluddin Muhammad Ehsan, *Rauzat-ul Qayyumiyah*, Part I, Urdu translation, Lahore (Allah Walon ki Dukan), 1335 A.H., p. 20.
198. Mir Khurd, *Siyar-ul Auliya*, Delhi (Matba-i Muhibb-i Hind), 1302/1885, p.58.
199. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 58; Also: *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 89.
200. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 128; Also *Hazarat-ul Quds*, Vol. II, p. 31.
201. Though all the contemporary and later Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi sources, and most of the modern works, give the same information but one of the letters of Ahmad Sirhindi reveals that he memorized the Holy *Quran*, at the age of fifty seven, during his imprisonment in the Gwalior Fort between 1028/1619 and 1029/1619. See : *Maktubat i-Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol. III (Turkish Edition), ed. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, Istambul (Isik Kitabvi), 1977, Letter No. 43; Also Masud Ahmad Muhammad, *Sirat-i*

- Majaddid-i Alf-i Thani*, Karachi (Madina Publishing Company), 1976, p. 51.
202. A famous Kashmiri Alim (Muslim religious scholar), he lived and ran a seminary in Siyalkot where a number of students studied logic, Philosophy, Scholasticism, Jurisprudenc etc. under his guidance. Kamal Kashmiri died in 1010 A.H./1601 A.D. in Lahore. See: Abdul Haiy Hasani, *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, Part V, Hyderabad (Idarah Dairat-ul Ma'arif), 1976, p. 326.
  203. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 128.
  204. For his details, See: Muhammaduddin Fauq, *Malik-ul Ulama Allama Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti*, Lahore, 1342 AH./(1924 AD.).
  205. Born in 908 AH./1501-02 AD, in Kashmir, he was one of most famous *ulama* and scholars of the sixteenth century. Shaikh Ya'qub was a spiritual successor of the great kubrawi saint Shaikh Husain Khwarizmi. He acquired honour from different ulama of Hajaz during his pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. There he also received from Allama Ibn Hajar Asqalani the authority to give instructions in *Hadith*. He travelled much and, visited and profited from most of the Shaikhs (scholarly and spiritual figures), of Arab and Persia. He also received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide and as such he had many disciples in different parts of India particularly in Kashmir. He died on 18<sup>th</sup> Zilqa'dah, 1003 A.H./ 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1595. Shaikh Ya'qub Sarafi was the author of some sublime and beautiful works, and wrote many treatises. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority in all branches of Islamic learnings, and is said to have written a voluminous commentary on the holy *Quran*, which was one of the most wonderful production of his perfect genius. For details, see: *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp.142-49; Also: Abdul Qaiyyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, Delhi, 1976, pp.116-24.
  206. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 128.

207. For Shaikh Yaqoob Sarafi's views about Shias and Shi'ism, see: Abdul Qaiyyum Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, pp. 221-2.
208. No contemporary or later work gives any information of Qazi Bahlul Badakhshani. Hashim Kishmi only says that he studied under Shaikh Abdur Rahman bin Fahd who was a renowned scholar of Hadith in Hajaz, and himself was esteemly held for his scholarship in *Hadith*. See: *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p.128.
209. A famous exegesis of the holy *Quran* by Wahidi. It is still taught in Muslim theological institutions.
210. It too is famous commentary on the Holy *Quran* by Baizawi and is taught in all religious educational centres.
211. The most significant collection of the Prophet's traditions. Compiled by Imam Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari (ob., 256 A.H./870 A.D.) , it has been held as the most authentic source of the science of Hadith among the ulama of Islam throughout the centuries. The author has selected seven thousand traditions (ahadith), after working very hard for more than sixteen years.
212. Also a famous collection of the Prophet's tradition.
213. Also one of the most authentic collections of Hadith compiled by Imam Tirmizi.
214. It is one of the most important text included in the syllabus of Islamic theology.
215. A celebrated poem composed by Shaikh Bu Said Busiri. Its verses are supposed to have some type of supernatural power. It is said no other Arabic poem has attained such renown. Near about ninety commentaries on this poem have been written so far in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and other languages including Urdu.
216. Compiled by renowned shafite scholar, Abu Muhammad Al-Husain bin Masud bin Muhammad Al-Baghawi (ob. 510 AH./1116 AD.), it is also a

famous collection of *Hadith* and contains four thousand four hundred thirty six *ahadith* (traditions). It was first published by Waliuddin bin Abdullah Al-Khatib Al Tabrizi in 773 AH. /1336 AD. Its first English translation by A.N. Mathews appeared in 1810 from Calcutta. Another English translation by James Robson of Arabic Department of the Manchester University was simultaneously published from London and Pakistan in 1960. The Urdu translation of the *Mishkat-ul Masabih* has also appeared from Delhi in recent decades.

217. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 128.
218. *Hazrat-ul Quds*, Vol. II, p. 32.
219. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 128, Also see, *Hazarat-ul Quds*, Vol. II, p. 32.
220. *Felicitation volume: Some Aspects of Medieval India*, pp. 47-60.
221. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Mada wa Ma'ad*, Karachi, 1984, pp. 9-10.
222. *Hazarat-ul Quds*, Vol. II, p. 32.
223. For details, see: *Sirhind Theory the Ages*.
224. The eminent modern scholar of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Yohanann Friedman is of the view that the saint had been invited to Akbar's Court, (see: his famous work, *Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline Of His Thought And A History Of His Image In Eyes Of Posterity*, MC Gill, Canada, (McGill University), 1971, p. XIII. But it is not correct. He went to Agra in 1583 on his own part. There is no evidence of any sort of invitation either from the side of Akbar or from any other dignitary or noble of his court. According to the *Rauzat-ul Qaiyyumiyah* the intention of Ahmad Sirhindi to go to Agra was to meet eminent *ulama* and scholars who had taken abode in the Mughal Capital,(see: *Rauzat-ul Qaiyyumiyah*, Part I ,Urdu translation, op.cit., p. 62).
225. In this connection, see: the present author's article *Hazrat Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani Ahd-i Akbari Main*, in *Ziya-i Wajih* vol. 9, No. 6, ed. Wajahatullah Khan, Rampur (Jamia Furqania), June, 1998, pp. 19-24.

226. For his life and thought, see: M. Umaruddin, *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazali*, Aligarh, 1962; Also: Shibli Nu'mani, *Al-Ghazali*, (Reprint), Azamgarh, 1966.
227. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 131-32.
228. Also known as the *Tafsir-i Be Nuqt*, it is an exegesis of the Holy Quran in Arabic language written in the words of undotted letters, it has been characterized by critics to be almost an unique piece of Arabic writing. The work was completed after several year's labour in 1002 A.H./1593 A.D. It is reported that on its appearance many contemporary *ulama* raised their voice and submitted petition against its author. But on Faizi's satisfactory remarks they withdraw themselves (see *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 300; Also: *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, Vol. I, pp. 64-55; Also: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. II, Leiden, 1961, vol. 871.
229. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 132; It is to be noted here that there has been a controversy amongs scholar as to whether Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi wrote a considerable part of the *Sawati-ul Ilham*. In this connection the statement of the author of *Zubdat-ul Maqamat* that 'the Shaikh wrote only few pages', is correct.
230. *Risalah Radd-i Rawafiz* (Critically edited and translated in urdu by Ghulam Mustafa Khan), Istambul (Isik Kitabevi), 1977, p. 4; Also *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 133.
231. K.A. Nizami, *Akbar and Religion*, New Delhi, 1989, p. 262.
232. *Zia-i Wajih*, p. 220-23.
233. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
234. For his details, see : *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, Part V, p. 134.
235. For biographical, mystical and other details of Khwaja Baqi Billah, see Dr. Iqbal Sabir's article entitled "*Khwaja Baqi Billah: The founder of the Naqshbandi silsilah in India*", I.H. Siddiqui and Nazir Ahmad, ed.



- Islamic Haritage in South Asian Subcontinent, Jaipur (Publication Scheme), 2000 pp. 137-56.
236. See: *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol. I, Letter No. 290.
237. Sirhindi, Shaikh Ahmad, *Mabda-wa Ma'ad*, Karachi, 1984, pp. 41-46.
238. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 153-54.
239. Ibid., p. 155.
240. Ibid.
241. Ibid., p. 157; Also : *Rauzat-ul Qaiyyumiyah*, part I, urdu trns. P. 118.
242. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 32.
243. Ibid. pp. 159-60.
244. Ibid. p. 348.
245. Abdul Ali and Zafarul Islam, op.cit., pp. 27-55.
246. *Hazrat-ul Quds*, Vol. II, p. 115.
247. Ibid., p. 116; Also: Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangir*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Aligarh (Private Press), 1864, p. 273.
248. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p. 300.
249. Abdul Ali and Zafarul Islam, op.cit., pp. 37-43.
250. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 282-283.
251. Ibid., pp. 326-40, Also, *Hazarat-ul Quds*, pp. 299-311.
252. *Khazinat-ul Asfiya*, I, p. 617.
253. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 340-46, *Hazarat-ul Quds*, pp. 319-29.
254. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, p. 237.
255. Ibid., p. 240.
256. Ibid., p. 243.

## Chapter II

# *Sufi Works of the Period*

## Chapter - II

### SUFI WORKS OF THE PERIOD

Though many mystical works were produced from time to time since the foundation of the Muslim rule in India, yet the History of sufi literature of the country reveals that the books, brochures and treatises written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on different aspects of Sufis and Sufism exceed in number. We find many *Tazkiras* (Biographical dictionaries), *Malfuzat* (conversations of saints), works on Sufi thought and practices, collection of the letters of different saints and collection of the saints' poetic verses which were compiled during these two centuries. A deep study of this literature of the period will surely help us to understand the social, cultural and even political environment of the Mughal empire. Some of these works are very valuable source of information for understanding the thought and activities of the Muslim mystics of our period. The impact of the Sufis on Indian society, culture and politics may also be studied in this literature. The influence of their teachings on the common man and the problems of people belonging to different sections of society can be evaluated through these works. There is hardly an aspect of medieval life—social, cultural, religious or even political, on which this literature does not throw light.

#### (A) TAZKIRAHs

As for the biographical works we find a number of *Tazkirahs* written during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.

- (1) The *Akhbar al-Asfia* contains short biographical sketches of two hundred fifty sufis, completed in 1014 AH/1606 A.D. during the reign of Jahangir,

this work was compiled on the pattern of Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith *Dehlawi's Akhbar-al Akhyar*. The another of *Akhbar-al Asfia* Abdus Samad bin Afzal Muhammad bin Yusuf Ansari, a resident of Delhi, is reported as the grandson of Shaikh Mubarak Nagors the son of Faizi's and Abul Fazl's sister. It may be mentioned here that he is the name Abdus Samad who compiled Abul Fazls letters. *Maktubat-i Allam*.

- (2) The *Hadiqat-al Auliya*, produced in 1016 AH/1608-9 AD, by Abdul Qadir Ibn Hashim Ibn Muhammad al Husain, a resident of Sindh, consists of the biographies of the Sufis of sindh.
- (3) The author of *Tuhfat-al Suada*, Khwaja Kamal, belonged to Lucknow. Written in 1016 AH/1609 A.D. this works sheds light on lives of the Chishti saints of Lucknow and the surrounding areas particularly Shaikh Qiwanuddin Abbasi (ab. 840 AH/1437 AD),<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Muhammad Mina, popularly known as Shah Mina (ob. 870 AH/1466 AD) and Shaikh Saduddin of Khairabad (888AH/1480AD). The author had compiled this work on the request of his son Shah Hamid Abul Faiz.
- (4) *Gulzar-i Abrar* MS no. 185, lindsiana, Rotograph No. 174 in the department of History A.M.U. Aligarh, a biographical dictionary of Indian Sufis compiled in 1613 by Mohammad Ghausi Shattari during early years of Jahangirs reign. Also is an important Sufi *Tazkirah* of the Seventeenth century. It is voluminous works supplying the biographical details of seven Hundreds Seventy five Saints, most of whom belonged to Gujarat. Its authors Muhammad Ghauth Shattari was very well known for poetry and scholarship during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. His father Shaikh Hasan bin Musa was an eminent saint of the Shattari silsilah. Ghauthi received his education in Ahmadabad in Gujrat and spent long time of his

life in Mandu, the capital of Malwa. The author compiled the *Gulzar-i Abrar*, as early as 998 AH/1590 AD. but circumstances compelled the postponement of the work until after 1010 AH/1602 AD. In fact the greater part of his book was written between 1020 AH/1611 AD. *Gulzar-i Abrar* bombastic, but valuable notices of 575 Indian Saints many of them Gujaratis, dedicated to Emperor Jahangir and divided into five Chamans. (1)-(3) Seventh, eight, and nine century respectively. (4) Tenth and early eleventh century. (5) shattaris . Accordingly it comprises the details of the Sufis and *Mashaikh* of the seventh to eleventh centuries /13<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. *Gulzar-i Abrar* is a *Tazkira* of the Sufis of various Silsilah especially Qadiris and shattaries, who flourished in the 16<sup>th</sup> century at Gujrat, Bidar, Berar, Agra, Malwa, Jaunpur, Ujjain, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur and Pathri. *Gulzar-i Abrar* supplies useful information regarding the Multani branch of Qadiri Silsilah in Deccan. We also find the names of the rulers, nobles, governors and relations of the Sufis with the court.

- (5) *Kalimat-al Sadiqin*, compiled in 1023 AH/1614 A.D. the *Kalimat-al sadiqin* is another famous *Tazkira* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It gives the short sketches of one Hundreds fifty Sufi Saints buried in Delhi. It also contains the sayings and *malfuzat* of these saints. Its author Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani earned great fame and respect as a scholar in Shahjahan reign. Hamadani also worked as *Khabar Nawis* in Agra during the latters illness and participated in battle of Samugarh. Sadiq Hamadani's most famous work is the *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani* which he completed in 1046 AH/1636 AD.

- (6) ***Rishi Nama***, also is a significant work of our period. It supplies the detailed biographical and other accounts of the Sufis of the Rishi silsilah of Kashmir, with special reference to Baba Nuruddin Wali Rishi, the subject of the first and by far the longest biography, Baba Bam al-Din, Baba Zain al-Din, Baba Ilatif al-Din, Baba Nasr-al Din, Baba Rajab al-Din, Baba Shukr al-Din, Baba Nauroz Rishi, Mirza Haider<sup>2</sup> Kashmiri, Shaikh Hamzah and several of his disciples, with a long preliminary discourse on the merits of the first four caliphs. In the beginning it discusses the spiritual excellence of the Khulafa-i Rashidin, the first four pious caliphs and proves with evidences their greatness in the Sufi hierarchy. The author of *Rishi Nama* Nasibuddin popularly known as Nasib Kashmiri who died in 1047 AH/ May 1637 AD.<sup>3</sup> He was the Khalifa of Baba Daud Khaki, a renowned sufi of the Rishi order in Kashmir.

*Rishi namah*, a metrical account of the Saints of Kashmir in three daftars.

(1) Shaikh Nur-al Din his followers and contemporaries. (2) Shaikh Hamzah and some other Rishis. (3) Abdul Qadir Gilani and the shaikhs of his silsilah in Kashmir.

- (7) ***Jawahar-i Faridi***, written in 1033AH/1633 AD by Ali Asghar bin Shaikh Maudud of Fatehpur near Allahabad, is another famous biographical work of the seventeenth century. Contains the accounts of the famous Chishti saints Shaikh Fariduddin *Ganj-i Shakar* and his descendants completed in 1033 AH/1623 AD under Jahangir (but evidently supplemented later). It consists of five chapters. It has been published from in 1301 AH/1884 AD five parts-

- (1) The prophet, his wives and children, the early caliphs and some tabiin.
  - (2) Muinal-Din Chishti, Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Ushi, Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar, Najib-al-Din Mutawakkil, their wives, children and disciples.
  - (3) Zain al-Din Chishti Hindalwi, a descendent of Ganj-i Shakar in the fourth generation and a contemporary of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517), who settled at Hindali, near Fatehpur.
  - (4) A list of areas, i.e. days of the month on which the anniversaries of the death of different saints are celebrated, together with some information concerning the affiliations of the author's father.
  - (5) On the descendents of Shaikh Sad Hajji, or Said Hajji, a relation of Ganj-i Shakar, and those of Shaikh Abd Allah. Ghaffari known as Shaikh-al Islam, etc.<sup>4</sup>
- (8) Another important *tazkirah* of the seventeenth century is the *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, completed in 1037AH/1627 AD. it occupies very special position and precedence in the Naqshbandi literature of the period. It is the authentic source of the Naqshbandi saints of the Mughal period, Khwaja Baqi Billah<sup>5</sup> and his chief khalifa Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The book also discuss their mystic ideology and other details. Sirhindi was an outstanding religious figure of the seventeenth century. His life and thought have been discussed in details in the *Zubdat-al Maqamat*. As its author, Khwaja Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, had personal contact with the saint and spiritually connected with him (as a disciple and Khalifa) the subjective element in his narrative is predominant. The books at his

spiritual mental with profound respect. The main purpose of the book is to bring to light the role of the saint as a spiritual teacher to highlight his impact on social and political trends of the period. The mystical philosophy of the Shaikh, particularly the concept of *Wahdat-ush Shuhud* has been explained in some length. Moreover, the account of Khwaja Baqi Billah, the spiritual mentor of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, is fairly detailed and contains valuable information. The Khwaja's life in central Asia and Afghanistan has also been discussed. Similarly his life in Delhi has been carefully delineated.

The *Zubdat-al Maqamat* also contains the accounts of eminent saints of the sixteenth century Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh and Shaikh Kamal of Kaithal. It also gives the details of Shaikh Ahmads ancestors and father. The biographical details of the sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi are also available in this book. It is divided into two parts, called each one as *Maqsud*. Where as every *maqsud* is further divided into different chapters known as *fasl* totally there are fifteen *fasls*. Only two manuscripts of the *Zubdat-al Maqamat* are listed the printed catalogues, one which belongs to the Bankipur Library was transcribed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the other which belongs to the India office library was transcribed in 1150 AH/1737-8AD. Two editions of the book have appeared so far. One from the *Matba-i Mahmood* of Lucknow in 1302AH/1885 A.D. and the other from the Nawal Kishore press of Kanpur in 1307 AH/1890 AD. An Urdu translation was published from Lahore 1909 AD.



(9) The famous Tazkira of the seventeenth century is the *Majma-al Auliya*.

Its author Mir Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani was a renowned scholar of *tasawwuf* and other Islamic sciences. He flourished in the reign of Shahjahan who held him in high esteem, compiled in 1043AH/1633 AD, this work contains the accounts of fourteen or fifteen hundreds saints of India and their Islamic countries. It comprises a muqaddama, twelve chapters and a conclusion. In the Muqaddama different sufi terms have been discussed and defined then the author writes about the prophet of Islam. Members of his family his pious caliphs, his companions and the tabiin, the followers of the companions. After words gives the accounts of Hasan Basri, Ibrahim Adham, Maruf Karkhi, Bayazid Bistami, and Junaid Baghdadi. Then he gives the details of the saints of different Sufi orders. The conclusion of the book discuss spiritual greatness of the members of the prophets family and his four caliphs. The twelve bobs-

1. The first four caliphs, the twelve Imams, the Sahabah, the tabiin etc. 304 Biographies.
2. Hasan Basri and 142 of his order.
3. Ibrahim bin Adham and 62 of his order.
4. Maruf Karkhi and 73 of his order.
5. Bayazid Bistami and 53 of his order.
6. Junaid Baghdadi and 89 of his order.
7. 162 Naqshbandis and Turkish Shaikhs.
8. 65 Qadiries.
9. 64 Suhrawardis, Kubrawis and Chishtis.
10. 277 Indian Saints of Delhi, Gujrat etc.

11. 36 Saints who were poets.

12. 38 female saints and a *Khatimah* (on the merits of the prophets family and the first four caliphs with same account of Al-Khidr and Ilyas.

(10) Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Emperor Shahjahan produced many significant works of different aspect Islamic mysticism. His famous Tazkiras *Safinat-al Auliya* and *Sakinat-al Auliya* hold important position in the Muslim mystic literature of the seventeenth century completed in 1049AH/1640 AD *Safinat-al Auliya* supplies the accounts of the prophet of Islam, the pious caliphs, the companions of the prophet, twelve Imams, tabiin, taba' tabian, founders of the four schools of jurisprudence and the saints of different spiritual orders. It has appeared in 1853, 1872, 1884 and 1900, respectively from Agra, Lucknow and Kanpur. The *Sakinat-al Auliya* is a detailed account of the famous Qadiri saint, Shaikh Miyan Mir of Lahore and Khalifas and disciples. It was compiled in 1052 AH/1643 AD. It too has been frequently published. The *Risalah-i Haqq Numa*, written in 1645, is a small sufi tract. The *Hasanat-al Arifin*, composed in 1652 is an annotated collection of ecstatic or paradoxical utterances, ascribed to various mystics. A work entitled *Rumuz-i tasawwuf*, which is described by Arberry as a catechism of Sufi doctrine, was published with an Urdu translation at Lahore in 1923. Whatever this is a genuine work of Dara Shikohs and whether it contains a date are matters for investigation. The work of Dara Shikoh's last years are a remarkable series resulting from an interest in Hindu mysticism and a desire to reconcile Hinduism and Islam.

- (11) Dara's sister Jahan Ara Begum some times called simply Begam Sahib or Begum Sahibah<sup>6</sup> also was devoted to sufis and Sufism. She wrote the *Munis-al Arwah*, which is the Biography of the great Chishti saint Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. The Khwaja's account right from his arrival to this country, his stay at Ajmer and all the events till his death have been described in it. This book was written in 1049 AH /1640 AD.
- (12) Another Tazkira of the Naqshbandi saints, written during the 17<sup>th</sup> century is the *Hazarat-al Quds* of Mulla Badruddin Sirhindi, compiled in 1043 AH/1633 AD, it is in two volumes. In the first volume the details of the prophet of Islam, the first pious caliph Abu Bakr Siddiq, Salman, Qasim bin Muhammad, Imam Jafar Sadiq and all the saints of the Naqshbandi Silsilah have been provided whereas in the Second volume is devoted to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. His life, Sayings, miracles, children and disciples completed not earlier than 1053 AH /1643 AD, since Adam Banuries death which occurred is mentioned.
- (13) *Siyar-al Aqtab*, is the biographical account of the *Chishti Sabri* saints of India. It begins with Hazrat Ali and at the end the events of the life of the author have been given. The author Shaikh Ilah Diya Chishti was a descendent of the famous Chishti Sabri Saint Shaikh Jalaluddin *Kabir-al Auliya* and a disciple of Shaikh Ata of Panipat. The author understood this work in 1627 AD and completed it in 1647 A.D. It has been published from Lucknow in 1877 AD.
- (14) *Mirat-al Asrar*, Among the famous Sufi scholars of the seventeenth century Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti holds, very significant position. He was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haqq of Rudauli<sup>7</sup> and for time

worked as the *Sajjadanashin* of the latter's Dargah. Later he settled down and passed away in Lucknow in 1683 A.D. Shaikh Abdur Rahman wrote a number of works on Sufis and Sufism his famous Tazkiras, *Mirat-al Asrar*, *Mirat-i Maduri* and *Mirat-i Masudi*, supply valuable information of the Sufis of Islam, completed in 1654 AD. The *Mirat-al Asrar* is a biographical dictionary of the Sufis from the beginning of Islam till the time of Shaikh Husamuddin Manakpuri. It comprises a preface (dibache), muqaddama and twelve chapters.

- (15) The *Mirat-i Madari*, is the biographical account of the famous fifteenth century saint Shaikh Badiuddin Madar of Makanpur<sup>8</sup> now near Kanpur in U.P. Most of the information in this work has been derived from the *Imam-i Mahmudi* of Qazi Mahmudi Kantori and the *Lataif-i Ashrafi* of Saiyed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani of Kichuanchha.
- (16) As for the *Mirat-i Masudi*, it is a famous work supplying the biographical details of Saiyed salar Masud Ghazi of Bahraich. The main source of its information is the contemporary historical account written by Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawi who was a servant of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. The *Mirat-i Masudi* has been translated into English by B.W. Chapman but it is not yet published, however its Urdu translation by Akbar Ali bin Muhammad Bakhsh has appeared from Lucknow in 1871.
- (17) Another famous Tazkira of the Sufis compiled during the reign of Aurangzeb in Seventeenth century is entitled as *Maarij-al wilayat*. Its author Shaikh Ghulam Muinuddin Abdullah Khweshgi Qusuri was spiritually associated with the Chishti silsilah, completed in 1666 A.D, this work gives valuable information about a large number of the sufis of

India and abroad, as the author was a staunch supporter and exponent of the philosophy of *Wahdat-al wujud*, he has adopted critical and somewhere hostile approach and attitude towards the admirers of the concept of *wahdat-ush shuhud* in his writing.

- (18) *Khurriqat-i Shah Qumais Qadiri*, Ms. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Tasawwuf No.19 , Azar Collection.

The work deals with the life, pedigree and early education of Shah Qumais Qadiri, his arrival in Bengal from Baghdad and stay till his death at Sadhura in 1616 AD. The work throws light on the friendly relations of Shah Qumais and his father, Abul Hayat with the rulers of Bengal, Shah Hussain and Sultan Nasib Shah, who later on became their father in-laws. Pir Muhammad Lahori, without citing any evidence, says that he narrated what he heard from eminent persons of his age. Though the language is simple, but there is an irregular arrangement of facts. Even chronology is defective and unnecessary importance is given to Shah Qumais's miracles.

- (19) Another work of Pir Muhammad Lahori, is *Haqiqat-ul Fuqara*, available in Punjab University Library, Lahore, Shirani Collection, Ms. No.248. It is the biography of some Qadiri saints. The work was published by *Majlis-i Shah Hussain*, Lahore, 1966.

- (20) *Mayar-i Salikan-i Tariqat*, Ms. British Museum Add. 21589: The author Mir Ali Sher, has devoted one chapter to the companions and friends of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, but its significance lies in the accounts of his descendants who, according to Mir Ali Sher, were in Thatta in 1503-4, engaged in missionary efforts for the propagation of Qadiri silsilah. This

work also contains biographies of the Sufis of other *salasil* like Chishti, Suhrawardi and Kibravi etc.

- (21) ***Rawzat-ul Auliya-i Bijapur***: *Tazkira No.266*, Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. National Archives, Tarnaka, Hyderabad. This important manuscript contains biographical notices of the well-known Qadiri Sufis who flourished at Bijapur between 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Accounts of the various Sufis of other orders are also included.
- (22) ***Rawzat-ul Auliya***, throws light on the relations of some Qadiri Sufis with Adil Shahi court especially Ibrahim II (1580-1627) of Bijapur. The author has also composed the death chronograms of some Qadiri Sufis. The work is of utmost value from a chronological point of view. It was compiled in 1825-26 by Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi and was copied in 1882-83.
- (23) ***Awrad-i Qadriyyah***, Ms. No.1695, Bankipur Library, Patna. Shaikh Kamal-ud Din Abul Hasan Musa, who wrote this work, lived in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and was the spiritual preceptor of Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi. It deals with the mode of worship, meditations and daily prayers in Qadiri silsilah. It discusses other mystic practices like *Kashf-i Qubur* (revelations in graves), visitation of sacred places, and prayers for various occasions, methods to recite *Qur'an*, and the ethics and precepts of Qadiri silsilah.
- (24) ***Kalam-i Shah Hussain***, Published Packages Limited, Lahore, 1979, with introduction by Dr. Nazir Ahmad. Shah Hussain (1538-99) is considered first among the Punjabi *sufi* poets who wrote *kafis*. The chief feature of Hussain's poetry is that he addresses the people in their local dialects. His

*kafian* are available in the form of *ragas* in many Urdu and Gurumukhi manuscripts.<sup>9</sup>

According to Dr. Nazir Ahmed, the poems of Hussain had not been ascribed during his life time but have come down through the *qawwals* and scribes.<sup>10</sup> Some of the published editions of *Kalam-i Shah Hussain* are as follows :

- (1) *Kafian-i Bulhe Shah wa Shah Hussain*, Lahore, 1898.
  - (2) *Shabd Shlok Bhagtan Dae*, Lahore, 1901, Amritsar N.D.
  - (3) *Hans Chog*, Buddha Singh, Lahore, 1934.
  - (4) *Mukammal Kalam-i Shah Hussain Lahori*, Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana, Lahore, 1942.
  - (5) *Kafian-i Shah Hussain*, English translation by Yaqoob Anwar, Lahore, 1966.
  - (6) *Shah Hussain Kalat-i Kalam*, Prof.G.L. Sharma, Amritsar, 1975.
- (25) *Sukh-Anjan*, ed. By Dr. Saiyida Jafar, Hyderabad, 1968. It is a collection of Abul Hasan's (d. 1045/1635) poems, a renowned Qadiri *sufi* of Bijapur.

In his famous poem *Ankh Michauni*, Abul Hasan explains in a vivid way the sufistic ideology, the four stages of spiritual journey, mysteries of gnosis and methods of ascent and descent. He cites anecdotes, verses of *Sufis*, traditions and *Qur'anic ayats* to illustrate his view point.<sup>11</sup>

Two manuscripts of *Sukh-Anjan* are available in *Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Urdu*, Hyderabad. The first was copied by Mir Muhammad Ali alias Pir Pasha on Ziq'a'd 1191 AH/1771 AD at the suggestion of Asad Muhammad Khan. The second was copied on 6<sup>th</sup> Zilhijja 1210 AH/1795

AD, the name of scribe is not given. Both the manuscripts consist of 409 verses, even the arrangement is the same.

- (26) ***Ganj-i Sharif***: The author is Saiyid Haji Muhammad Naushah Ganj Bakhsh Qadiri (1552-1654). *Ganj Sharif* consists of 4600 verses of Punjabi and Urdu. It is a rare collection of Punjabi Rakhan and folk literature. It shows the religious trends prevalent in the Punjab in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and the local dialects used in Sahanpal Gujarat, *Ganj Sharif* throws light on the language, culture, human feelings, social and moral life of the period. From linguistic point *Ganj Sharif* can be divided into three parts. In the earliest Urdu version, instead of Arabic and Persian influence, Sanskrit and Prakrit idioms are used. Part II contains a large number of Urdu words but Persian is dominant. Part III entirely devoted to Punjabi language and literature. Urdu and Punjabi translations of *Ganj Sharif* were published from Lahore (1975), and Sahanpal (1980), (Gujarat) in Pakistan with Introduction and Notes by Saiyid Sharif Ahmad Sharafat Naushahi.

- (27) ***Akhbar-ul Akhyar***, published from Delhi in 1283 AH this famous *tazkira* was written in 1590 by Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi (d.1642). It is the most complete and reliable biography of Indian *Sufis* of the four main orders-Chishtis, Qadiris, Shattaris and Suharwardis which flourished between thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Prof. K.A. Nizami,<sup>12</sup> considers “*Akhbar-ul Akhyar* as the best product of Abdul Haqq’s erudition, scholarship and scientific research”. It shows his proficiency and knowledge of the religious literature of the period.



- (28) *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, Ms. British museum or 3203, dated 1077AH/1667AD. The author is Tawakkul Beg Kulabi, a disciple of Mulla Shah Badakhshi, the renowned, Qadiri sufi of Kashmir. Here in Tawakkul Beg vividly portrays Mulla Shah's ancestry, early life, education, arrival in India, his residence at Kashmir, and his *bait* in *silsilah-i Qadriyyah*, by Mian Mir Lahori (d. 1635). The work supplies many details about personal and religious life of Mulla Shah (d.1661), his spiritual experiences, continuous fasting, meditations, visions, constant night vigils, and other mystic practices including *habs-i dam* (control of breath), *Awurad-o burd* (contesting) etc. it throws light on the scholarly attainments of Mulla Shah. The work is valuable as it provides details pertaining not only to the life history of Mulla Shah but also the political affairs of the period.

*Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi* is in the form of a diary, beginning with the first year of Shahjahan's accession (1627-28). It was compiled during Aurangzeb's reign in 1667. The manuscript is not divided into chapters but important events of each Regnal year have been put up as headings or subheadings. What increases the historical importance of the work is the sequence of events in chronological order, arrangement of facts accuracy and correctness of dates.

Manuscripts of the work are rare, one copy is available at oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad (Tasawwuf No.349), another at British Museum. A Rotograph (No.138) of B.M. manuscript is in the Library of Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, it is written in cursive *Nastaliq*

by Bishan Singh dated 27 September. Year of subscription has not been mentioned. It seems that the work was copied in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

- (29) *Sahifa-i Ahl-i Huda*, Ms. Bijapur, Gachi Mahal Library. Compiled in 1796-97 by Muhyuddin bin Saiyid Mahmud Qadiri on the notes collected by Abul Hasan's grandson Abul Hasan II in 1684-85.

*Sahifa-i Ahl-i Huda* is a biography of Shah Abul Hasan and other Qadiri Sufis of Bijapur. This valuable historical source provides a good deal of information about Abul Hasan's relations not only with Ibrahim II but also with the *yogis*. The work was translated into Urdu and edited by Prof. Akbaruddin Siddiqui, Hyderabad, 1966.

- (30) *Mishkat-un Nubuwwat*: Written by Ghulam Ali Musavi in 1804. It is a biography of some of the most prominent saints of the various *sufi* orders—Qadiri, Chishti, Naqshbandi and Suhrawardi, who lived in Deccan during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The work contains occasional references to North Indian Sufis. The biographies are irregular and not arranged in chronological order. Undue importance is given to legends and supernatural gifts of the saints. Two copies of the work are available in Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. Copy A, Tazkina No.21, copy B, *Tazkira* No.194, and another at *Rawza-i Shaikh* Collection, Gulbarga.

- (31) *Lataif al-Latif*, is another work of Ghulam Ali Musavi, Tasawwuf No.681, Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. The work deals with some Qadiri *Sufis* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It shows the exchange of *khilafat* among the Qadiris and Shattaris.

- (32) *Makhzan-ul Asrar fi Zikr-i Salasil-i Kibar*, Ms. No.40, AMU Library, Aligarh. The author is anonymous, but the date of compilation is 1631 AD. The work is useful for its criticism against the Qadiris of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who introduced many practices and innovations in the *silsilah* contrary to the true spirit of *shariat*.
- (33) *Jami-us Salasil*, Ms. AMU, Library, Aligarh. Majduddin Badakhshani composed this work in 1638. A detailed description of the *wazifas* and prayers of Qadiri *silsilah* is given. The work also deals with the mystic practices of other *salasil*.
- (34) *Maqasid-i Qadiriyyah, alias Risala-i Qadiriyyah*, Ms. No.739, Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. This standard work on the Qadiri mystic ideology and practices was written in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Shaikh Ibrahim Makhdumji, son of Shaikh Muhammad Multani. It mainly deals with various kinds of Azkar and *Muraqaba* prescribed in the *Silsilah*. The work is rare and valuable. The author has cited quotations from *Bahjat-ul Asrar* and *Awrad-i Qadiriyyah* of Shaikh Abdul Qadir to support his views. In the conclusion we find the praises (*manaqibs*) of the founder of the *Silsilah*.
- (35) *Diwan-i Mullah Shah*, Ms. No.API/IV, 159, Punjab University, Lahore, Ms. No.852/89. Abdus Salam Collection, A.M.U. Library, Aligarh. His Diwan contains *Qasidas*, *Rubais*, *Masnavis*, *Manaqibs* and *Ghazals*.<sup>14</sup> Dara Shikoh writes. *Diwan of Mullah Shah* is full of mystic allusions, and intricate problems regarding *Tasawwuf-o Suluk*.<sup>15</sup> Tawakkul Beg informs that “one copy of his *Diwan* was in the possession of Aurangzeb.”<sup>16</sup> He

further says that in 1635, Mulla Shah decided to compile his *Diwan* and in 1636 he composed two *ghazal*.<sup>17</sup> The main theme of all his verses is *Tawhid* (Divine Unity), *Fana* (annihilation), *Iman-o kufr* (faith and infidelity), *Shariat* (law), *Tariqat* (path), *Ma'arifat* (gnosis). Help is taken from anecdotes and traditions in order to illustrate certain points of mysticism.<sup>18</sup> Mulla Shah also wrote *Manaqibs* (praises) of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, Maulana Rum and Mian Mir.<sup>19</sup>

- (36) ***Abiyat-i Bahu***: It is a collection of about 185 verses of Sultan Bahu (1629-91) . The work has been translated into Urdu, by Abdul Majeed Bhatti with the original Punjabi version.<sup>20</sup> Abdul Majeed is a renowned poet of Urdu and Punjabi. His translations of *kafis* of Shah Hussain and Baba Farid won for him wide acclaim.

The main characteristic of *Abiyat-i Bahu* is the simplicity and lucidity of its style. His verses and mystic allusions are appealing to the heart of the reader. Most of his verses are addressed to peasants and illiterate people of Punjab. His songs are sung in Punjabi by musicians on the occasion of *urs*. A characteristic feature of Bahu's *Abiyat* is its alphabetical order, the last line ends with *hu*, an innovation in Punjabi poetry.

- (37) ***Diwan-i Bahu***: Hameed Akhtar Qadiri has translated *Diwan* of Bahu from Persian into Punjab.<sup>21</sup> It is a collection of 49 ghazals and deals with such themes as pantheistic doctrine of Divine Unity, self-surrender, resignation to the Divine will, self-realization, renunciation of world, union and separation, etc. Mystical doctrines like *Faqr* (poverty), *Taqwa* (piety), *Ruyat* (Divine vision), *Qurb* (proximity to God) are also explained.

He has quoted Qur'anic verses, while illustrating his view point. Unlike *Abiyat*, he does not use the term *hu* nor his title *Bahu* in most of these *ghazals*.

- (38) *Kalam-i Bulhe Shah*, Package Limited, Lahore, 1976, with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Nazir Ahmad. It appears that Bulhe Shah (1680-1756) could not compile his poems but, as they became popular among the common folk, the contemporary singers preserved them and handed down to their disciples and successors.

His *kalam* or poetry includes *kafi*, *athwarah*, *barah maha dohra*, *gandhan* and *siharfi*.<sup>22</sup> The overwhelming theme of his poetry is Divine Love. Like Hussain, he uses the imagery of Hir and Ranjha, and similes of weaving and spinning. A list of his works is given below, most of which were published in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early twentieth century.

- (1) *Kafian-i Hazrat Bulhe Shah*, published by malik Hira Lal Kashmiri, 1982.
- (2) *Ganjina-i Ma'arifat Gian*, undated, published by Munshi Diwan Chand, Gujranwala.
- (3) *Kafian-i Bulhe Shah*, undated, published at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- (4) *Qanun-i Ishq*, Anwar Ali Rohtaki, published in Lahore, 1889.
- (5) *Kafian-i Bulhe Shah*, Prem Singh Qusuri, 1896.
- (6) *Tazkira-i Hazrat Bulhe Shah*, Urdu tr. Of Osborn's English work by Ziauddin Ahmad Barni, Delhi, 1920.
- (7) Punjabi Sufi poets, Dr. Lajwanti, New Delhi, 1974.

- (8) *Swangar of Bulhe*, English tr. Of 96 *kafian* of Bulhe Shah by Uttam Singh, Lahore, 1946.
- (9) *Kulliyat-i Bulhe Shah*, Faqir Muhammad, Lahore, 1960.
- (10) *Kafian-i Bulhe Shah*, Abdul Majeed Bhatti, Islamabad, 1975.
- (11) *Poetical Works of Bulhe Shah*, Surindar Singh Kohli, New Delhi, 1990.
- (39) *Wakiat-i Kashmir*, MS A.M.U. Library No.892/89. Muhammad Azam Kashmiri compiled it in 1735 AD, the date of scription in 1844. It is a biographical account of the Qadiri, Chishti, Suhrawardi and Naqshbandi Sufis, who lived in Kashmir in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- (40) *Risalah-i Tahliliya* an Arabic treatise, written in 1010 AH/1601-02 AD, deals with the importance of *Kalima-i Taiyyaba*, Muslim confession of faith, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi is reported to have written this brochure at a time when Akbar and his followers had removed Muhammad is the prophet of God” from the *Kalima* and introduced new confession “there is no God but God and Akbar is God’s representative’, the *Risalah* Sheds a flood of light on monotheism (*Tauhid*) and prophecy (*Risalat*).

### (B) MAKTUB LITERATURE (LETTERS)

Moreover, the seventeenth century also witnessed the rapid development of the sufi epistolary literature. The most important of this type of works is the

- (1) *Muktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, the letters of Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi of Sirhind. The letters hold an important position in Muslim mystical literature. The *Maktubat* provide a lot of information on religious, mystical and even political themes. According to Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid these

letters cover a vast field ranging from the metaphysics to politics and missionary activities, and these are a mirror of the intellectual and spiritual ferment which swept over the spiritually saturated Indian Muslim society. These *Maktubat* form a very important source of Indian History and reflect the socio-political environment of Akbar and Jahangir's reign. These also shed a flood of light on the revivalist efforts of the Shaikh.

The *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani* run into three volumes. The first volume entitled as *Durr al-Marifat* was compiled by Shaikh Muhammad Jadid Badakhshi in 1025 AH/1616 AD. It contains 313 letters. The second volume, *Nur-al Khaliq*, was compiled by Khwaja Abdul Haiy in 1028 AH/1619 AD and comprises 99 letters. The third volume known as *Marifat-al Haqiqi*, consisting of 114 letters, was compiled by Khwaja Hashim Kishmi in 1033 AH /1623 AD. All these three volumes of the *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, have frequently been published from Lucknow in 1877, Delhi in 1871, and 1873. Amritsar in 1916 and from Lahore in 1964. A critically edited text has also been published from Istanbul in Turkey in 1977 by Isik Kitabwi.

- (2) Similarly the *Maktubat* written by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's sons, Khwaja Muhammad said and Khwaja Muhammad Masum, are also of great value, both these brothers were brought up under direct spiritual training of their illustrious father and latter on came to occupy a pre-eminent place in contemporary mystic life. Their contribution to the development of the Naqshbandi silsilah in India is unquestionable. A number of mystical concepts of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi have been either explained or elaborated in these letters. Moreover, the impact of Sirhindi's thought on

and his image in the eyes of posterity may also be studied in these letters of the two brothers. As both these letters maintained cordial relations with Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. We also find information in this regard in their letters. These also refer to the war of succession amongst the son of Shahjahan. The collections of their letters of both these brothers entitled as *Maktubat-i Sadiya* and *Maktubat-i Masumiya* have been published several times by different publishers.

- (3) Another epistolary (*Maktub*) work of the seventeenth century is the collection of the letters of Shah Muhibullah Allhabadi. Most of his letters valuable discussion in far over the defence of the concept of *Wahdat-al Wujud*, and its propounder Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi. Some of them are addressed to prince Dara Shikoh as well who himself was a staunch supporter of this mystical philosophy.
- (4) Likewise, the letters of Shah Kalimullah of Delhi, also are of great significance. Though compiled in the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most of his letter were during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Apart from a number of mystic subjects these letters also throw light on the religious inclination of the Mughal rulers and nobles.

### (C) WORKS ON SUFI THOUGHT AND PRACTICES

As for the works on Sufi thought and practices produced during the seventeenth century, the various brochures of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi are of great value and also occupy precedence in Chronological orders.

1. *Mabda-wa Ma'ad*, written between 1008 AH/1599AD. and 1019 AH / 1610AD, contains fifty four short chapters dealing with averialy of sufi



subjects like *Baiat*, *Qutb-i Irshad*, *Adab-i Tariqat*, *Kamalat-i Auliya*, *Haqqiat-i Kaba* and *Haqiqat-i Quran*.

2. The other work is *Maarif-i Laduniya*. It is very similar in content to *Mabda-wa Maad*. Though not dated it seems to have been compiled after the Shaikh joined the Naqshbandi Silsilah. It defines the Secrets of Divine attributes (*Sifat-i Ilahi*) and sheds interesting light on the Hidden meaning of some Quranic verses.
3. Another work of the Shaikh is the *Makashifat-i Ainiya* (also known as *Makashifat-i Ghabiya*) which is the collection of different ijazat names (written permission authorizing the disciple or Khalifa to initiate disciples) given by the saint to his Khalifas from time to time.

## References

1. *Akhar-ul Akhyar* p.155.
2. *Khazinat-ul Asfiya*, II, PP. 312-13.
3. *Waqiat-i Kashmir*, p.142.
4. C.A. Story, *Persian literature*, Vol. I, part 2, 46 Great Russell street, London, 1953, pp. 986-987.
5. *Khazinat-ul Asfiya*, I, pp. 605-07.
6. Abdul Hamid Lahori , *Padshahnamah*, Calcutta Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1866-72, I, P. 178.
7. Thirty eight miles from Barabanki in Oudh (Lucknow).
8. A village 8 miles North West of Bilhour and 40 miles from Kanpur.
9. Ms. No.374, Punjab University, Lahore, dated 1805. Ms. No.267, Bhasha Vibhag Library, Patiala, dated 1837. Ms. No.1, Punjab University Library, Chandigarh: Ms. Khalsa College Library, Amritsar, *Kalam-i Shah Hussain*, pp.91-5.
10. *Kalam-i Shah Hussain*, Introduction, p.6.
11. Sukh Anjan, pp.82-89, 90-95 ,127-128,120-133,135-138,140-141.
12. *Hayat-i Muhaddis Dehlavi*, pp.200-2.
13. For further details on *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, in the Journal of Punjab University Historical Society, Lahore, 1985.
14. Jahan Ara Begum, *Sahibiyah*, Persian Ms. Raza Library Rampur, A transcript copy, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, pp.4-6.
15. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p.196.
16. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f.31a.
17. Ibid. f.32b.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid, 7b, 8a,65b.
20. Pub.Karachi, 1967.
21. Pub.Distt. Jhang, Pakistan,1980.
22. For the explanation of these terms, *Kalam-i Shah Hussain*, pp. 88-91, *Punjabi Sufi poets*, Introduction, p.11.

### Chapter III

# *Development of Spiritual Thought*

## Chapter - III

### DEVELOPMENT OF SPIRITUAL THOUGHT

Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi amongst his contemporaries was the pioneering personality among the exponents and interpreters of this doctrine in those days. From his boyhood he was drawn to mystic life. Although he obtained a formal education from eminent *Ulama*, his absorbing interest was in pantheistic ideas. According to Simon Digby, throughout his life he remained a vigorous advocate of the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul wujud*, the 'Unity of being'<sup>1</sup>. He also wrote a commentary on the *Fusus al-Hikam*.<sup>2</sup> His famous work *Rushd Nama*<sup>3</sup> openly revels his mystic ideas, in support of *Tawhid-i wujudi*. Explaining this mystical Philosophy. Shaikh Abdul Quddus, in some of his Hindi verses, says that steam rising from a river is called vapour. When it rests in the atmosphere it is called a cloud. If water from the cloud falls into a vessel, it is known as water of whatever receptacle it finds itself. If it falls in form of rain, it is known as rain water. In all cases there remains water. Similarly, according to him, duality is a false concept and the idea of anything besides God is misguided people should, therefore, believe only in the 'Unity of Being'<sup>4</sup>. In support of his views he also quotes the Quranic verses.<sup>5</sup> All that is on the earth will perish. But will abide (for ever) the face of the Lordfull of Majesty, Bounty and Honour.<sup>6</sup> Shaikh Abdul Quddus started open discussions about the pantheistic philosophy.<sup>7</sup> On one occasion he delivered, in his own Mosque, a sermon on the concept of *Wahdat-al wujud*. But his sons made objections and questioned the doctrine. It is said that the Shaikh was so grieved that he set out from Gangoh to take up residence with one of his Khalifas whom he believed to be convinced upon the point.<sup>8</sup> He is also reported to have

argued with Miran Saiyid Ahmad, a theologian from Multan, upon this doctrine for five or six months until he persuaded him to accept it.<sup>9</sup>

The Shaikh's son Shaikh Ruknuddin<sup>10</sup> informs that once Shaikh Jalaluddin Thanesari<sup>11</sup>, the famous Khalifa of Shaikh Abdul Quddus came to see his mentor in his *Khanqah* in Gangoh, Shaikh Abdul Quddus allowed Jalaluddin Thanesari to enter the *Khanqah* after the latter had assured him that he believed in the same religion, and followed the same path that his preceptor followed. The Shaikh then warmly welcomed and embraced his devoted Khalifa.<sup>12</sup>

The letters of Shaikh Abdul Quddus to Shaikh Jalaluddin contain very subtle explanation of the 'Unity of Being' they also emphasize that love (*Ishq*) is the principal cause for the creation of the world from a superficial point of view love appears easy. But in reality it reduces the lover to ashes.<sup>13</sup>

It is interesting to mention here that Shaikh Abdul Quddus had drunk so deep at the fountain of the unity of Being that he is said to have made the remark, "the prophet of Islam ascended the highest Heaven, during his nocturnal journey, i.e. *Meraj*, and returned to this world. I swear by God that if I had gone there and reached that point. I would never have come back." The famous twentieth century poet philosopher Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, differentiating the prophetic consciousness from the mystic consciousness, had mentioned above remark of the Shaikh is one of his famous lectures delivered during the early thirty's of the last century.<sup>14</sup>

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' seems to have completely dominated the Sufi circles in the whole subcontinent. In the words of Yusuf Husain Khan, it 'had by now become a

part of the texture of mystic thought in India.<sup>15</sup> Its impact is clearly discernible in Indo-Muslim religious thought throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh, Shaikh Amanullah of Panipat, their spiritual followers and many others are reported in different works to have evinced profound interest in Ibn Arabi and *Wahdat-al Wujud*. They actively worked for the popularity and development of this Sufi spiritual philosophy and its propounder in India during the sixteenth century. Its also makes an analysis of the impact of Ibn 'Arabi's thought on the sixteenth century Sufi-saints in India.

Before dealing with them, we must bear in mind the doctrine of *Wahdat-al Wujud*, the 'Unity of Being', as propounded by Shaikh-i Akbar so as to clearly understand the contribution and interpretations of the saints of India in the field of theosophy. We can say that Ibn Arabi's conception of *Wahdat-al Wujud* is an extension of the Islamic doctrine of *Tawhid*, the Oneness of God. From the concept that 'there exists but one God', he takes us to the profession that 'there is nothing in existence except God'.<sup>17</sup> According to him, Being is one it is that which exists. This being is God. Every thing else is his manifestation. Hence the world is identical with God. The identity of the world and God is conceived on the basis of the identity of his existence and essence or the substance and attributes, the world being only a manifestation of his attributes.

For Ibn Arabi, Being is identical with attributes, and attributes express themselves in manifestations or modes which are the world and its objects. He holds that relation between the world and God is one of identity. In bringing out this identification he proceeds either from the negation of the world or from the affirmation of God. Proceeding from the negation of the world, Ibn Arabi

holds that the world as such is merely nominal, unreal, imaginary, objectively non-existent, and that God alone exists. The world exists only as the modes of the unity as his modes. It has no existence of its own. Proceeding from the side of God, Ibn 'Arabi maintains that the world is God. It is the modes in which the unity has differentiated itself. These modes exhaust the unity wholly. The unity has no existence over and above them. Therefore, the mystic should not take the trouble of seeking God beyond this world.

Again, according to Ibn Arabi, God is the Reality and the world is his adumbration. But adumbration is the appearance of Reality. It is Reality appearing, manifesting itself. Hence the world is identical with God.<sup>18</sup> As to the relation between man and God, Ibn 'Arabi maintains that the relation between God and man is that of identity, of immanence, of nearness. Really, nearness means nothing other than the fact that God Himself is the very essence of the limbs and parts of man. That means that man possesses all the attributes of God. In fact it is His attributes that are manifested in man. They are bodily there in man. That is why it is said that one who is cognizant of his own self comes to be cognizant of his God.<sup>19</sup>

It may be mentioned here that Ibn 'Arabi's mystical doctrine, as he himself maintains, is a matter of the heart and cannot be realized through reason. It needs a higher system of knowledge, based on the intuitive experience of the individual which he calls *Zauq*.<sup>20</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the spiritual scenario of the Indian subcontinent was covered with the clouds of the pantheistic philosophical views at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Almost all the Sufis of the period were sunk in the ocean of *Wahdat-al Wujud*. Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi<sup>21</sup> who held

significant place amongst his contemporaries, was the pioneering personality among the exponents and interpreters of this doctrine in those days. From his boyhood he was drawn to the mystic life. Although he obtained a formal education from eminent *ulema*, his absorbing interest was in pantheistic ideas. According to Simon Digby, 'throughout his life he remained a vigorous advocate of the doctrine of *Wahdat-al Wujud*, the "Unity of Being".<sup>22</sup> He also wrote a commentary on the *Fusus-al Hikam*.<sup>23</sup> His famous work *Rushd Nama*<sup>24</sup> openly reveals his mystic ideas, in support of *Tawhid-i Wujudi*. Explaining this mystical philosophy, Shaikh Abdul Quddus, in some of his Hindi verses, says that steam rising from a river is called vapour. When it rests in the atmosphere, it is called a cloud. If water from the cloud falls into a vessel, it is known as water of whatever receptacle it finds itself in. If it falls in form of rain, it is known as rain water. In all cases, there remains water. Similarly, according to him, duality is a false concept and the idea of anything besides God is misguided. People should, therefore, believe only in the 'Unity of Being'.<sup>25</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Quddus started open discussions about the pantheistic philosophy<sup>26</sup> On one occasion he delivered, in his own mosque, a sermon on the concept of *Wahdat-al Wujud*. His sons, however made objections and questioned the doctrine. It is said that the Shaikh was so grieved that he set out from Gangoh to take up residence with one of his khalifas whom he believed to be convinced about his point.<sup>27</sup> He is also reported to have argued with Miran Saiyid Ahmad, a theologian from Multan, upon this doctrine for five or six months until he persuaded him to accept it.<sup>28</sup> The Shaikh's son, Shaikh Ruknuddin,<sup>29</sup> informs that once when Shaikh Jalaluddin Thanesari,<sup>30</sup> the famous *Khalifa* of Shaikh Abdul Quddus, came to see his mentor in his



*Khanqah* in Gangoh. Remain there and tell me as to what your religion is, and as to which path do you follow.

Shaikh Abdul Quddus allowed Jalaluddin Thanesari to enter the *Khanqah* after the latter had assured him that he believed in the same religions and followed the same path that his preceptor followed. The Shaikh then warmly welcomed and embraced his devoted *Khalifa*.<sup>31</sup> Shaikh Jalaluddin Thanesari himself was a staunch follower of *Wahdat-al Wujud*. When Emperor Akbar started for Kabul to suppress the revolt of Mirza Muhammad Hakim in 1581, he paid a visit to the saint in his *khanqah* in Thanesar. In his conversation with the Emperors, the Shaikh recited a Persian quatrain (*rubai*) explaining the 'Unity of Being' to him<sup>32</sup>.

Likewise, Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi,<sup>33</sup> another famous follower of Shaikh Abdul Quddus, also earned great fame and popularity as an exponent and interpreter of Ibn 'Arabi's thought.<sup>34</sup> His lectures particularly covered the theme discussed in the *Fusus-al Hikam* of Shaikh Muhiyuddin Ibn Arabi and the *Awarif-al Maarif* of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi. He is said to have taught these works to his students with deep emotions and concentration. He described and explained subtle points of Islamic spirituality, *tasawwuf*, so clearly that everyone could easily understand them. His discourses created very attractive atmosphere especially when he described the concept of *Wahdat-al Wujud*. It was on account of his deep insight in the subject the 'Unity of Being', that the seekers of knowledge, students and mashaikh, attend his sermons in large number. It appears he had reinterpreted the doctrine of *Wahdat-al Wujud* and tried to reconcile it with the *Sharia*, the laws of Islam.<sup>35</sup> His illustrious son Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, popularly known as

Mujuddid-i Alf-i Thani,<sup>36</sup> writes in one of his letters that Shaikh Abdul Ahad always remained spiritually occupied with the 'Unity of Being'.<sup>37</sup> He taught Ibn 'Arabi's works to his students with full confidence and devotion, and frequently delivered scholarly lectures on *Tawhid-i Wujudi* in his ancestral seminary at Sirhind. Students, *Ulema*, sufis, and *Mashaikh* attended his sermons in large number.<sup>38</sup> The famous sixteenth century Sufi-scholar, Shaikh Mirak,<sup>39</sup> had been Abdul Ahad's pupil and studied *Fusus-al Hikam* under him.<sup>40</sup> Shaikh Abdul Ahad is reported In the *Zubdat-al Maqamat*<sup>41</sup> to have said, in the last moments of his life, 'Really God is Absolute Existence. But as our eyes cannot see Him, He remains hidden.'<sup>42</sup> He also wrote a brochure, *Kanz-al Haqaiq* in support of *Wahdat-al Wujud*.<sup>43</sup>

The other important exponent of Ibn 'Arabi's thought, during the sixteenth century, was the famous Qadiri saint, Shaikh Amanullah of Panipat.<sup>44</sup> He developed his interest in the *Fusus-al Hikam* and other famous works on the concept of *Wahdat-al Wujud* in the company of his teacher Shaikh Muhammed Mawdud Iari who, becoming filled with ecstasy, used to deliver extempore lectures on the 'Unity of Being'.<sup>45</sup> Shaikh Aman was so well versed in the pantheistic philosophical sciences that, according to Abdul Qadir Badauni, he was known among the people as the Ibn 'Arabi of his time or Ibn 'Arabi-i Thani.<sup>46</sup> Shaikh Abdul haqq Muhaddith also mentions him in his *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* as a great scholar of *Tawhid-i Wujudi*.<sup>47</sup> His (Abdul Haqq's) father Shaikh Saifuddin, himself a renowned scholar and interpreter of the 'Unity of Being', was the favourite disciple (*murid*) of Shaikh Aman. When on one occasion Saifuddin went to see his pir, Shaikh Aman started crying: The world is so closely related to Him that every thing is He.<sup>48</sup>

Shaikh Aman claimed that he could deliver public lectures on the principles of *Wahdat-al Wujud* without veiling them by the use of similes and metaphors, and even then could fully convince his audience of the truth of his message. He used to say that in the beginning of his career he could use only two completely acceptable arguments in defence of the 'unity of Being' but now the number had increased to sixteen.<sup>49</sup> The Shaikh wrote a number of treatises on the theme. In one of his most famous works, *Ithbat-al Ahadiyat*, Shaikh Amanullah meaningfully reinterpreted the universality of Reality and its process of surrounding the essence of phenomenal existence and embodying what was beyond existence.<sup>50</sup> According to him, the hierarchical order of *wujud* as defined by the followers of the *Wahdat-al Wujud* merely included varying degrees of self-manifestations of the Absolute. Being represented in His transcendent absoluteness was beyond the dichotomy of existence and non existence. He says that *Mahhiyat* or quiddity cannot be understood in its general sense but in the special sense of essence.<sup>51</sup> Shaikh Aman died in 957 AH / 1550 AD.<sup>52</sup>

Shaikh Amanullah's famous Khalifa, Shaikh Tajuddin, popularly known amongst his admirers as *Taj-al Arfin*, also played an important role in the development of *Wahdat-al Wujud* during the sixteenth century. Badauni informs that he frequently visited Emperor Akbar and secretly talked to him during the night about the 'Unity of Being'. He also explained the Quranic verses to Akbar in the light of Ibn 'Arabi's thought.<sup>53</sup>

Shaikh Hasan Tahir (d.944AH/1537 AD), a Sufi of the Qadiriya order, also seems to have showed great enthusiasm in the Sufi pantheistic ideas of Ibn 'Arabi during the sixteenth century.<sup>54</sup> In one of his letters, quoted by Shaikh

Abdul Haqq in the *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, he says that nothing but the Essence (*Zat*) or 'Absolute Being' existed. He reminded his disciples that although all manifestations were apart from essence and particular aspects of Reality, there is no duality and the reality of many (in terms of their substances or as opposed to the essence, such as pure light and unmixed darkness) is inconceivable. According to Shaikh Hasan, what is visible, is a theophany which is mixed with darkness and is collectively known as brilliance or *ziya*. All manifestations (the Universe) are perishable. All intelligible forms of prototypes have originally been manifested through the divine consciousness, the Perfect light. The Shaikh also reaffirmed that the Universe is a macrocosm of which man is the microcosm, created in the image of God, and is the manifestation of True Unity and relative multiplicity.<sup>55</sup>

Shaikh Hasan's distinguished *khalifa*, Shaikh Abdur Razzaq of Jhanjhana (d.949/1542-3), was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the leading exponents of Ibn 'Arabis philosophy. He is reported in the *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* to have said that the entire universe is the manifestation of divine attributes and divine names. According to him, creation is a concrete manifestation of something which already existed in God's mind and is a theophany or *Tajalli-i llahi*. Everything other than Reality is bound by the process of annihilation. God as Absolute is unfettered by the attributes which man can comprehend, and the concept of other than God is therefore meaningless.<sup>56</sup>

Another saint of our period of study is Mir Saiyid Abdul Awwal bin Alauddin Husain (d.968 AH/1561 AD) who had the spiritual authority in the Chishtiya and Qadiriya orders. He was a scholar of high repute. He wrote a

commentary on the *Futuhāt-i Makkiya* of Ibn ‘Arabi by simplifying the great author’s complex theories<sup>57</sup>.

As regards the Sufis of the Shattari silsilah, Shaikh Muhammad Ghoath of Gwalior is known as a great champion of the philosophy of *Wahdat-al Wujud*. Throughout his life, he was devoted to this mystic doctrine. However, he seems to have completely reinterpreted it in accordance with the need of the time. His famous book *Jawahar-i Khamsa* consists of a number of different aspects of the ‘Unity of Being’, such as the Journey towards God (*Sayrila-Allah*) and ‘annihilation and subsistence’ (*Fana* and *Baqa*), etc.<sup>58</sup> As no sufficient material is available in this regard, it is better to make a survey of the experts of *Wahdat-al Wujud* amongst the followers of the Shaikh and other Shattari saints. Shaikh Wali Muhammad (d. 987 AH/1579-80 AD), a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior showed deep interest in Ibn ‘Arabi’s spiritual thought. The emphasis on the *Wahdat-al Wujud* in his mystic perception promoted him to perceive the Essence as veiled in the attributes of every particle of the universe.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, another Shattari Sufi Shaikh Isa (d. 1031 AH/1621 AD), was also a passionate devotee of the *Wahdat-al Wujud*. A *khalifa* of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad Arif Shattari, he closely studied and always staunchly defended Ibn ‘Arabi’s works. He wrote treatises explaining the theories of the *Shaikh-i Akbar*. He also wrote an exegesis (*tafsir*) of the Quran entitled *Anwar-al Asrar*, which is designed to demonstrate that the seeds of *Wahdat-al Wujud* can be found in the verses of the *Quran*. According to him, the commentators of the Divine Revelation (the *Quran*), who took them literally, could hardly understand these points. He also composed verses revealing the secrets of the truth of the ‘Unity of Being’.<sup>60</sup>

Though the famous sixteenth century Chishti saint Shaikh Nizamuddin of Amethi, near Lucknow (d.979 AH/1571-2 AD), disapproved the study of Ibn ‘Arabi’s books and rather preferred and recommended the *ihya al-Ulum al-Din* of Imam Muhammad Ghazali, the *Awarif al-Maarif* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardy, the *Risala-i makkiya* of Imam Qutbuddin, and *Adab-al Muridin* of Shaikh Abu Najib Suhrawardy to his disciples and followers.<sup>61</sup> Yet one of his famous *khalifas*, Shaikh Sufi, showed profound interest in Ibn ‘Arabi and his philosophy. After his pir’s death, Shaikh Sufi shifted to Gujarat where he studied for several years the *Fusus-al Hikam* and the *Futuh-at-i Makkiya* under the ablest guidance of Shaikh Wajihuddin Gujarati. He wrote a commentary on the *Fusus* and used to deliver brilliant lectures on the technical terms used by *Shaikh-i Akbar* in discussing *Wahdat-al Wujud*.<sup>62</sup>

Moreover, in the closing years of the sixteenth century, there emerged another great exponent of the pantheistic philosophy of Muhiyuddin Ibn ‘Arabi in the Indian subcontinent. He was Shaikh Abdul Jalil of Lucknow who earned fame as an Qwaisi Chishti saint, and directly benefited from the spirit of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. His writings show great frankness in expressing his belief in Ibn ‘Arabi’s thought.<sup>63</sup>

Besides, Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni informs that Shaikh Azizullah, Shaikh Chayan Ladh Sohni, an Abtari Badakhshani were also the famous advocates of *Wahdat-al Wujud* in those days. Shaikh Azizullah used to instruct his pupils in expounding the secrets of *Tawhid* and taught them the *Fusus-al Hikam* and its commentaries. He also wrote a broucher. *Risalah-i Ainiyah*, in support of Ibn ‘Arabi’s *Wahdat-al Wujud*. It deals with many obscure questions relating to this theme.<sup>64</sup> Shaikh Chayan Ladh was one of the most famous

successors of Shaikh Abdul Aziz of Delhi and travelled resolutely in the path of mysticism. He too used to give instructions in Sufi books such as the *Fusus* and the *Naqd-i Fusus* to his pupils who were seekers of the truth.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Abtari Badakhshani also was a famous exponent of Ibn 'Arabi's mystical thought. He had committed to memory some phrases from the *Futuh-at-i Makkiya* and the *Fusus-al Hikam*. He also wrote a treatise on the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud*.<sup>66</sup>

Thus we see that Ibn 'Arabi's mystical concept of *Wahdat-al Wujud*, the 'unity of Being', which entered into Sufi-circles of the Indian subcontinent in the first half of the fourteenth century, had reached the pinnacle of its popularity and permeated the spiritual and intellectual life of the Muslims throughout the country during the sixteenth century. In Akbar's time it had become the dominant mystical theosophy of Muslim India. Most of the eminent Sufis and *Mashaikh* of different spiritual orders had drunk at the fountain of Ibn 'Arabi's thought.

The same Sufi thought the *Wahdat-ul Wujud* was dominated on the minds and hearts of the Sufis of India at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Among the Sufis who flourished in the country in the beginning of this century, Miyan Mir of the Qadiri Silsilah and Khwaja Baqi Billah of the Naqshabandi order are most significant. Miyan was deeply influenced by the pantheistic philosophy of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*. It is said that he had committed to his memory a number of pages Ibn Arabi's *Futuh-at-i Makkiyah* and Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami's commentary on *Fusus-ul Hikam*,<sup>67</sup> Although according to Dara Shukoh's *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, Miyan Mir was more devoted his prayers and spiritual practices rather than mystical thought.<sup>68</sup>

Similarly, Khwaja Baqi Billah of the Naqshbandi silsilah also believed in the same mystical philosophy and fully agreed with all the points discussed by Ibn Arabi in his works. He was strongly of the view that there is no harm in believing this sufi ideology by living in the framework of the *Shariah* of Islam. But it appears from the study of his *Khalifa* Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's letters, entitled as the *Maktubut-i Imam-i Rabbani*, that he (Baqi Billah) had changed his views regarding the concept of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* the 'Unity of Being'.<sup>69</sup>

The beginning of the seventeenth century is a significant time in our country's medieval history from the point of view of the development of the sufi thought. There emerged in the sufi scenario of the sub continent a great spiritual figure who revolutionized the Muslim spiritualdom. It was the above mentioned Khwaja Baqi Billah's Chief *Khalifa* and spiritual successor Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. As has been said earlier, his father Shaikh Abdul Ahad was among the first ranked exponents of the 'Unity of Being'. It is, therefore, correct to say that Ahmad Sirhindi too had inherited this ideology. Even by the time he joined the Naqshbandi discipline at the hands of Khwaja Baqi Billah in 1599 AD. he was an enthusiastic supporter of this mystic doctrine. But it was in those days that Sirhindi started meditations and practices in accordance with the teachings of the naqshbandi silsilah under the guidance of the Khwaja and achieved rapid success. It was in those days that Sirhindi passed through various spiritual journeys and experienced many new ideas and stages. During this process of spiritual journeys and experiences, he was encounter with the reality of the conception of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*. It may be said that Shaikh Ahmad, during these meditation, the last and ultimate stage of this mystic concept. Very soon this (final) stage completely dominated him.<sup>70</sup>



He continued his meditations. Shading light on his mystical journeys Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi writes: "Suddenly God's special favours appeared and unvailed all obstacles of the way. The learning consisting of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* were perished. It appeared to me that God is God and the world is world. These cannot be one."<sup>71</sup>

This new idea was turned by the Shaikh as the doctrine of *Wahdat-ush Shuhud* 'Unity of Appearance'. It may be defined in by saying that Sirhindi passed through the stage of *Wahdat-ul Wajud* and reached the stage of *zilliyat* or adumbration where the error involved in the earlier stage (i.e *wujudiyat* or *unityism*), was revealed to him. After these stage of Adumbration (*zilliyat*), he attained the stage of *Abdiyat* or servitude. At this stage he found himself so thoroughly convinced of the error of *wujudiyat* or unitism that he felt himself compelled to denounce it emphatically. It was at this stage that he clearly realized that mystic experience has no objective validity with regard to the being and attributes of God. God is beyond all such names and attributes as can be comprehended by us. He is beyond all modes and relations, beyond all externalization and internalization, beyond all realizable and explicable, beyond all mystic intuition and experience, and beyond all conceivable and imaginable. He the Holy one is beyond the beyond, again beyond the beyond.<sup>72</sup> Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi is view that whatever is known through mystic intimation is merely a subjective experience, without any objective validity whatsoever.<sup>73</sup> Sirhindi, termed this stage (servitude) as the *Shuhudiyat* and as such a new sufi doctrine, known as the *Wahdat-ush Shuhud*, came to limelight.<sup>74</sup>

It is said that when on experiencing this stage Shaikh Ahmad apprised his mentor Khwaja Baqi Billah of its details, the latter too changed his views by believing that *Wahdat-ul Wujud* is an intermediary stage, and final and real stage is the *Wahdat-ush Shuhud* i.e. the Unity of Appearance.<sup>75</sup>

A detailed study of the development of sufi thought in the seventeenth century reveals that if on hand the doctrine of *Wahdat-ush Shuhud* was received warmly particularly by the followers and spiritual descendents of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, on the other, there came forward a group of Sufis in its opposition. This controversy started even during life of the Shaikh. However after his death in 1034 A.H. /1624 A.D. his sons, Khwaja Muhammad Said and Khwaja Mohammad M'asum, played significant role in popularizing this (their father's) conception of *Tauhid*. After them, their descendants particularly Muhammad Naqshband and Muhammad Zubair, and their followers made strenuous efforts in the dissemination of the philosophy of 'Unity of Appearance' in the sufi circle in India and abroad.<sup>76</sup>

As pointed out earlier the exponents of the concept of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* also remained active in popularizing their mystical thought throughout the seventeenth century. The sufis, who actively participated in this regard, were Shaikh Muhibullah of Ilahabad (Allahabadi). All his views and teachings are based on the mystical thought of Ibn Arabi. He was held in this field as a renowned interpreter. He wrote two voluminous commentaries on Ibn Arabi's *Fusus-ul Hikam*, one in Arabic and the other in 1041 A.H. /1631 A.D. in Persian. In 1050 A.H. /1640 A.D. he compiled his work *Haft Ahkam* and *Manazir Akhs-ul Khawaj*. Similarly in 1053 A.H /1643 A.D. he produced his work such as the *Ibadat-ul Khawas*, the *Tafsir-ul Quran* and '*Aqaid-ul Khawas*, etc.<sup>77</sup>

In all his works his basic purpose is to promote the idea of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*. The collection of letters has also appeared. Most of his epistles contain the same theme. Muhibullah Ilahabad was in close contact with Prince Dara Shukoh who was deeply impressed by his deep insight in the doctrine.<sup>78</sup>

Dara himself was emotionally inclined to this theme.<sup>79</sup> Rather he was a renowned exponent of this philosophy. Most of his works support it. He was also very deeply influenced by the views of his *pir* (mentor) Mullah Shah Badakhshi and grand mentor Miyan Mir of Lahore.<sup>80</sup> There was another famous admirer of the idea of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* who flourished in Delhi during the closing years of Shahjahan's reign and early years of Aurangzeb. His name was Sarmad. Came from Arminia, he was a convert to Islam from Judaism. He was a learned Arabic, Persian and Hebrew languages and different rational sciences.<sup>81</sup> Sarmad settled in Delhi in 1064 A.H./ 1654 A.D. and according to Sher Khan Lodhi he made close contact with Dara Shukoh.<sup>82</sup> Famous European traveler Bernier had also met Sarmad.<sup>83</sup> Sarmad preached very widely the concept of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* through his Persian poetry.<sup>84</sup> He did not read the complete *Kalima*, i.e. the Muslim confession of faith. Rather he used to say only *Lailah* means there is no God. Ulama of Aurangzeb's time issued a verdict against this behavior of Sarmad. The Emperor, therefore, ordered for his execution.<sup>85</sup>

At the same time the descendants and followers of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi also continued their efforts, during the second half of the seventeenth century, to preach *Wahdat-ush Shuhud* among the masses. They laid much and much emphasis on the study of Imam Ghazali's work *Ihya-ul Ulum* and *Kimya-i Saadat*. Several of the Naqshbandi saints of the period were in good and close contact with Emperor Aurangzeb<sup>86</sup>.

It was during the last quarter of the seventeenth century that flourished in Delhi a renowned sufi of the Chishti silsilah Shah Kalimullah of Delhi. He was very popular among the people and supported the concept of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*<sup>87</sup> Thus we see that the admirers of both those mystical thought remained active in popularizing their ideas in the country during the seventeenth century.

## References

1. See, Simon Digby's Article on '*Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi*', in *Medieval India A Miscellany*", Vol. III, Aligarh, 1975, p.19.
2. *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, Vol.I, p.434.
3. Simon Digby, op.cit. (Med. India Miscely, Vol.III), pp.56-66.
4. S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, p.340.
5. Ibid.
6. The Holy Quran, Text, Tr and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali (5<sup>th</sup> ed.) Delhi, 1979, Ch.L.V. No.26-27, pp. 1475-76.
7. Tariq Ahmad, op.cit., p.12.
8. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 59 Also Simon Digby op.cit, (Med. India Mscel, p.19), Also: Muhammad Aslam, *Din-i Ilahi aur uska pasmanzar*, Delhi, 1969, pp.74-75.
9. *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p.55.
10. Born on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1492 , he was the son and spiritual successor of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi. He carried on his father's spiritual mission till his last moment by permanently residing at Gangoh where he died in 1575-6. He compiled his father's biography and Malfuzat, entitled *Lataif-i Quddusi*, for his details , see, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp. 101-2, Also *Akhbar-al Akhyar*, p.222.
11. He was a distinguished Khalifa of the Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, throughout the life he was devoted to meditation, prayer, *Zikr* and *sama*, he wrote a sufi work *Irshad-al Talibin* and a treatise on *sama*. Shaikh Ruknuddin died in 1582, see, *Zubdat al-Mqamat* p. 103, also *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i Chisht*, Vol.I, p.280.
12. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p.60.
13. Shaikh Abdul Quddus, *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, Delhi, 1870, pp. 89-90,101.
14. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *Reconstruction of the Religious Thought in Islam*, Delhi, 1981 ( Reprint) pp. 73-74.

15. Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Bombay, 1957, p.53.
16. It may be noted that by the time of Akbar the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* had become the dominant mystical theosophy of Muslim India. For details, see *ibid*, p.57.
17. *Ibid*.p.50.
18. For detailed study, see Affili, *op. cit*, pp. 1-65.
19. *Ibid*. Also, B.A. Faruqi, *The Mujaddid's conceptions of Tawhid*, Lahore, 1940, pp.86-96.
20. Yousuf Husain , *op.cit*. p.57.
21. He was a renowned saint of the Sabiriya branch of the Chishti silsilah. Shaikh Abdul Quddus received *khilafat* from and succeeded his pir Shaikh Muhammad, the grandson of Shaikh Ahmad, Abdul Haq of Rudauli. He himself resided there but in 1491 he migrated to Shahabad near Ambala in eastern Punjab where he lived for about thirty years. Finally, in 1526, he shifted to Gangoh where he died at a ripe old age in 1537. He was on good terms with Sultan Sikander Lodhi and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He also maintained cordial relations with Emperors Babur and Humayun. Among his works *Anwar-al Uyun*, *Risalah-i Qudsiya*, *Rushd nama*, *Gharib-al Fawaid*, and *Mazhar-al Ajaib* are very famous. He also wrote a commentary on ibn Arabi's *Fusus-al Hakam*. The collection of his letters *Maktubat-i Quddusiya* also deserves special mention. For his detailed accounts, see, Shaikh Ruknuddin, *Lataif-i Quddusi*, Delhi. Also *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, pp.221-4; Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, Newal Kishore, Kanpur, 1890, pp. 97-101. Also, *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, vol. I, Delhi, 1980, pp.271-4.
22. See Simon Digby's Article '*Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gongohi*', in *medieval India: A Miscellany*, Vol. III, Aligarh , 1975, p.19.
23. *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, Vol. p.434.
24. Simon Digby, *op. cit*. (*Medieval India Miscellany*, vol. III, pp. 56-66).
25. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, p.340.

26. Tariq Ahmad, op.cit. p.12.
27. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p.59. Also, Simon Digby, op. cit. (Medieval. India miscellany, p.19). Also *Din-i-illahi aur Uska Pasmañzar*, pp. 74-5.
28. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p.55.
29. Born on 5 March 1492, he was the son and spiritual successor of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi. He carried on his father's spiritual mission till his last moment by permanently residing at Gangoh where he died in 1575-6. He compiled his father's biography and *malfuzat*, entitled *lataif-i Quddusi*. For his details, see, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, pp.101-2; also, *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p.222.
30. He was a distinguished Khalifa of Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh. Throughout his life he was devoted to meditation, prayer, *zikr*, and *sama*. He wrote a Sufi work *Irshad-al Talibin* and a treatise on Sama. Shaikh Ruknuddin died in 1582. See, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.103.
31. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p.60.
32. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Rud-i Kausher*, Delhi, 1984 (rpt.), pp. 73-74.
33. For his detailed accounts, see the present writer's article in *Burhan*, vol.99 no.5, Delhi. May 1987, pp.286-306.
34. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.113.
35. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol.II (Turkish ed.), Istambul, 1977, letter no.44.
36. Born in 971/1563 in Sirhind, he holds a pre-eminent position among the Sufis of Islam. Though initially he obtained *khalafat* in the Chishtiya and other spiritual orders from his father, however, subsequently he joined the mystic discipline of Khwaja Baqi Billah of Delhi into the Naqshbandi silsilah, and organized it in the whole subcontinent. He was deeply perturbed at the religious experiments of Akbar and left no stone unturned in challenging the situation created by political interference in religious life. He established close contacts with eminent Mughal nobles through correspondence and made them realize the nature of heretical

development at the Court. He deputed his disciples and *khalifas* to spread his spiritual mission in every important city and town of the Mughal Empire. Emperor Jahangir imprisoned him in 1029 AH/ 1619 AD in the fort of Gwalior for a year and then released and bestowed upon him the robe of honour. He also presented the saint a gift of rupees one thousand. The shaikh preached the importance of spiritual values in man's life by reviving people's interest in the *shariah*, the law of Islam. He attacked Ibn Arabi's *Wahdat-al Wujud* the 'Unity of Being' by declaring it one of the main causes of weakening the distinctive features of the faiths and creating an atmosphere of moral holiday. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's chief contribution to the Sufi thought in Islam was his enunciation of a counter theory popularly known as *Wahdat-ush Shuhud*, the 'Unity of Appearance'. He died in 1034/1624 in Sirhind. For his details, see *Zubdat al Maqamat*; also Badruddin Sirhindi, *Hazrat-al Quds*, VolIII, Lahore, 1971; Friedman, *Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi*, Mc. Gill, Canada, 1971; B.A. Faruqi, op.cit.

37. *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol. I, letter no.31.
38. *Burhan*, May 1987, p.295.
39. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p.219, also Shahnawaz Khan, *Maathir-al Umara*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1891, p.518.
40. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.113; also *Maktubat-i Khwaja Muhammad Masum*, vol. II, Lucknow, 1917, letter no.39.
41. It contains the biographical and other details of the seventeenth century Naqshbandi saints, particularly khwaja Baqi Billah. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, and their sons and *khalifas*. Its author, khwaja Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, was an eminent *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. It was first published in 1885 (1302 AH) by the *Matba-i Mahmud*. Lucknow, at the initiative of Pandit Ajodhia Nath, an advocate at the Hon'ble High Court at Allahabad, and then by the Newal Kishore Press, Kanpur, in 1890 (1307 AH). Another edition has also appeared from Pakistan. Its Urdu translation was also published from Lahore in 1909.



42. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.123.
43. Ibid, p.117; also, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Risalah-i Tahliliya*, Karachi, 1958, p.28.
44. For his biography and other details, see *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, pp.241-3.
45. Ibid, pp.234-242.
46. Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol.II, Calcutta, 1869, p.258.
47. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p.241.
48. Ibid, pp. 243-5; Tariq Ahmad, op.cit. p. 13.
49. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p.241.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., pp.241-2.
52. Ibid.p.242.
53. Ibid. p.242.
54. Ibid.p.195.
55. Ibid. pp. 195-6.
56. For details, see ibid, pp.237-41.
57. Ibid, pp.251-57.
58. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol.II, p.160.
59. Ibid, p.160.
60. Abdullah, Khweshgi Qusuri, *Maarij-al Walayat* (MS) (personal collection of K.A. Nizami), f. 533b.
61. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1969, p.29.
62. Abdur Rahman Chishti, *Mirat-al Asrar* (MS) (Nizami, personal collection), ff. 307b.308a.
63. *Maarij-al Wilayat* (MS), ff. 348b-349a, also William C. Chittick's article in eds. Nazir Ahmad and I.H. Siddiqui Jaipur, *Islamic Heritage in South Asian Subcontinent*, 2000, pp.157-8.
64. *Muntakhab-at Tawarikh*, vol. III, p.10.
65. Ibid. p.110.
66. Ibid, p.188.

67. S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar* (Reprint) Delhi, Taj Company, p.426.
68. Dara Shukoh's whole book is devoted to the saint's and his followers biographical accounts. It has been published from Tehran (Iran) in 1965 A.D.
69. See: *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Istambul, Irik Kitabavi, 1977, Letter No.43.
70. *Maktubat-i Imam -i Rabbani*, Vol.I, Letter No.31 & 192.
71. Ibid. Vol. I, letter No.31.
72. Ibid, Vol.II, Istambul, Isik Kitabvi, 1977, letter No. 1.
73. B.A. Faruqi, *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid*, (Reprint) Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1989, p.51.
74. For details, see: Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. For details, see: Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, Kanpur, Nawal Kishore Press, 1890 & Badruddin Sirhindi, *Hazarat-ul Quds*, Vol.II, Lahore, Punjab Waqf Board, 1971.
77. K.A. Nizami, *Tarikhi Maqalat*, Delhi, Nadwatul Musannifin, 1966, p.148/ Also: Muhammad Paindah, *Hasanat-ul Harmain*, ed. M. Iqbal Mujaddidi, Derah Ismail Khan, 1981, pp.78-79.
78. Ibid, pp.78-80.
79. *Tarikh-i Meqalat* , p.149.
80. *Hasnat-ul Harmain* , pp.74-77/ Also *Rud-i Kausar*, 449-51.
81. Anonymous, *Dabistan-i Majahib*, Bombay, 1277 A.H. / 1860 A.D. pp. 195-202.
82. *Mirat-ul Khayal*, Kol, 1848, p.154, Also: *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p.36.
83. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal, Empire*, London, 1891, p.317.
84. *Rud-i Kausar*, pp. 433-35.
85. Ibid, p.436-37, Also: *Hasanat-ul Harmain*, p.86. Also: *Maathir-ul Umara*, Vol.I, pp.224-25/Also: *Mirat-ul Khayal* p.154.
86. *Hasanat-ul Harmain*, pp.137-40.
87. *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i chisht* Vol. IV, pp.75-150.

## Chapter IV

# *Social Life* *(Sufis and Non-Muslims)*

## Chapter - IV

### SOCIAL LIFE (SUFIS AND NON-MUSLIMS)

Muslim saints, popularly known as Sufis and mashaikh, also zealously worked to promote harmony amongst the followers of various communities particularly Hindus and Muslims. Practically they believed in the *Hadith* of the Prophet of Islam:

“Whole mankind is the family of God”.<sup>1</sup>

*Al-khalq Ayalullah;*

And followed his another famous saying:

“O’ Servants of God, become brothers amongst yourselves”.<sup>2</sup>

This is why they did not keep themselves aloof from the main stream of the society. They looked upon social service as the supreme object of all their exercises. They considered a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation to be incompatible with the highest mystic ideals. They used to say if a man became egocentric, limited his sympathies and cut himself off completely from the energizing currents of social life, he failed to fulfill the mission of Islamic spirituality *Tasawwuf* or *Sufism*. Almost all the sufi teachers always advised their disciples to live in society and bear the blows and buffets of the people.<sup>3</sup>

According to them, “Nothing would bring greater reward on the ‘Day of Judgement’ than bringing happiness to the hearts of men” and this could be done by attending to the problems of the misery-stricken people, assuaging their wounds, pulling up their hearts and by infusing new life and confidence in their broken nerves. These Muslim saints believed in pacific and non-violent

approach towards all problems of human society. Force, they said, created more problems than it solved, and it set in motion a vicious circle of wrong and retribution which disturbed the very basis of human relationship.<sup>4</sup> They attracted the devotion of as many Hindus as of the Muslims. It may, therefore, be said that Sufis gave new dimensions to the life and thought of the people and an impetus to the process of harmonizing the multi-racial and multi-lingual society of our great country. Both contemporary and later sources as well as modern works provide lot of information in regard to their contribution in the field of social integration and communal harmony. Accordingly, it is highly appropriate to understand the role of sufi saints in bringing the followers of different religions near and closer to each other.

Before shading light on the contribution of the Sufis of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in this regard, it seems appropriate to say some thing about the role of the early Sufis of the medieval period. As we know the actual development of Sufism began after the different sufi silsilahs, Muslim mystical orders, were introduced in the Sub-Continent. It was Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, (the Khwaja of Ajmer), who first of all founded his spiritual order, the Chishtiyah Silsilah, or the Chishti Sufi Order, in the country. Having shifted to India at the end of the twelfth century, he took his abode in Ajmer which was not merely the seat of Chauhan power but a religious centre also where thousands of pilgrims assembled from far and near. He nevertheless, started his spiritual activities there. His determination to workout the principles of Islamic mysticism at a place of such political and religious significance show great self-confidence. "His stay in Ajmer", says the famous historian K.A. Nizami, "Must have been a serious trial for the principles of the Chishti silsilah".<sup>5</sup> Mir Khurd, the famous sufi writer and compiler of the *Siyar-ul*

*Auliya*, has mentioned him as the ‘Naib-i Rasul Allah fil Hind’ the ‘Deputy of the Prophet of God’ in India.<sup>6</sup>

Abul Fazl, the famous historian of the medieval period, says that groups of people benefited from his inspiring personality.<sup>7</sup> Living in a small hut and having few pieces of bread, he led a very simple but attractive life. People, belonging to all sections of the society, flocked to him in large numbers. Whosoever meet the Khwaja, repented from sins committed in the past and made a promise not to do so in future. Some of his sayings supply the quintessence of his religious and social ideology and reveal him as a man of wide sympathies, catholic views and deep humanism. Explaining his views about the Universe, Shaikh Muinuddin once said:

*Chun ma az post bairun amdaime wa nigah kardaim, ashiq qa mashuq wa ishq yaki didaim, ya'ni dar alam-i Tawhid hama yakist.*

[When we transcended the externals and looked around, we found the lover, the beloved and the love (itself) to be one, i.e. in the sphere of Oneness all is one].<sup>8</sup>

K.A. Nizami is of the opinion that this approach brought him very close to the treasures of ancient Hindu religious thought particularly the Upanishads, and created an atmosphere favourable for the exchange of ideas at a higher level.<sup>9</sup> He used to say that a sufi should always create in himself first ‘river like generosity’, secondly ‘sun like affection’ and thirdly ‘earth like hospitality’:

*Awwal sakhawati chun sakhawat-i darya, dom shafqati chun shafqat-i aftar, siyum tawazai chun tawaza-i zamin*<sup>10</sup>.

When on one occasion he was asked about the highest form of devotion, he replied that it was :

*Darmandgan ra faryad rasidan, wa hajat-i bichargan rawa kardan, wa gurusngan ra sair gardanidan.*

[To redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfill the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry.]<sup>11</sup>

To Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti the religion is not merely raised above rituals and ecclesiastical formalities but service of humanity is its *raison d'être*<sup>12</sup>. He never asked his visitor about his caste and creed. His mystic morality saved human sympathy from running into narrow grooves and struck at the very root of parochialism, casteism and religious exclusiveness. Whatever information is available of him in original sources, depicts him as a great exponent of human values. He was of the views that social reforms are not possible without reforming common people; if people are just, the whole society, even their rulers would also be just. The saint always avoided the company of rulers and ruling class. His simplicity and sweetness greatly influenced the Indian masses. This tradition was followed by his descendants and the Sufis of other silsilah's also.<sup>13</sup>

When the Mughal Empire was founded in India in 1526 A.D. by Emperor Babur, Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, Syed Mohammed Ghauth of Gwalior, and Shaikh Amanullah Panipati, belonging to the Chishti, Shattari and Qadiri orders respectively, were the most renowned figures in sufi domain. They played significant role in promoting communal harmony through their interpretations of the theory of the 'Unity of Being'. Shaikh Abdul Quddu's *Khanqah* was a famous centre of communal harmony and human brotherhood. He was great scholar of rational and traditional sciences. However, his absorbing interest, as mentioned above, was in the philosophy of *Tawhid-i*

*Wujudi* since his very youth. According to Simon Digby, “Throughout his life he remained vigorous advocate of the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*”.<sup>14</sup>

Simon Digby says that Abdul Quddus drew upon Yogic tradition in his own practice of techniques for attainment of ecstasy; and his explanations of these techniques given to his disciples are conceived partly in terms of Yogic physiological concepts. Digby further says that his (the saint’s) interpretations of Nathpanthi Yogic traditions are also of interest.<sup>15</sup> Shaikh Abdul Quddus also composed poetical verses in Hindi with the pen name (*takhallus*) of Alakh Das. Many of his verses show a fondness for the love poetry of the North Indian countryside.<sup>16</sup> It is said that the knowledge of the Shaikh was not limited to understanding and practicing *pranayama* or *pas-i anfas*. There are several references to Gorakh Nath, ‘Shri Gorakh’, ‘Nath’ and ‘O!Nath’ in the collection of his verses *Rushd Nama*.<sup>17</sup> In one of his verses the Shaikh identifies Niranjana with *Khuda* and calls him the creator of the different worlds. Similarly he also attaches great importance to Onkar and expects Sufis to absorb themselves in *Onkar* through *Zikr*.<sup>18</sup>

The Shaikh’s *Rushd-Nama*, which consists of his own verses and some of his pirs identify Sufi beliefs based on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* with the philosophy and practices of Gorakhnath. In fact some verses with slight variations are included in Nath poetry as well as in that of Kabir and Gorakhnath, such verses were regarded as the common property of both Muslim and Hindu mystics of the many verses in the *Rushd Nama* there are six references to either ‘Gorakhnath’, ‘Shree Gorath’, ‘Nath’ and ‘O!nath’. As in many Nath texts, these words at five different places throughout the work imply ultimate reality and Absolute truth, while in the six place, the word refers



to the perfect Siddha or perfect man.<sup>19</sup> The term *sabad*<sup>20</sup> used by Shaikh Abdul Quddus identifies mystic contemplation with Shakti as well as *Shiva* and their union as the course of the existence of the three worlds.<sup>21</sup> In other words the union of Shakti, the Sun, and Shiva, the Moon, according to the Shaikh, is the *Salat-i makus*<sup>22</sup> of the Sufis. The Yogi equivalent is the *ultisadhna* (Regressive process) involving the complete reversal of Human behaviour, from respiratory behaviour (Replaced by Pranayama) to sexual behaviour (annulled by the technique of the return of semen). In a Persian verse Shaikh Abdul Quddus says :

‘Unless the brain comes down to the foot  
None can reach the doors of God’.<sup>23</sup>

The nath describes the supreme creator as Alakhnath (the Incomprehensible or unseable one) or as Niranjana. Shaikh Abdul Quddus also uses the name Alakh Niranjan in the same sense. He says that his Lord is unseable (Alakh Niranjan) but those who are able to comprehend him are lost to themselves. In another verse the Shaikh identifies Niranjan with *Khuda* and calls him the creator of the different worlds.<sup>24</sup>

Like the naths, Shaikh Abdul Quddus attaches great Importance to onkar<sup>25</sup>, to the naths the word represents para-Brahma (transcendent brahm or the undefinable absolute). The physical culture of the naths is designed to make the body incorruptible and purified, onkar is the basis of pranayama. In the initial stages, breath is drawn up through the left nostril, the *ira*, while the sacred Hindu syllable ‘om’ is repeated slowly sixteen times. The breath is then suspended in the upper part of the nose where the breath nostrils meet. The junction of the nostrils is called the Sukhmana just as the breath has been drawn up by the left nostril, so it is forced down through the right nostril to

pingala, while the syllable is again repeated sixteen times. The highest degree of perfection is extremely difficult to achieve, but Shaikh Abdul Quddus expects Sufis to absorb themselves in Onkar through Zikr. To him onkar is the Absolute oneness, is interchangeable with Niranjana and indicates the state of *Sunyata* (void).<sup>26</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Quddus also explains the concept of '*Sahaja*' according to Nath traditions. He emphasizes it in the sense of the union between *Shakti* and *Shiva*. However, the realization of *Sahaja*<sup>27</sup>, says the Shaikh, lead to the achieving of ontological immortality or the Sufi Baqa. A state of perfect equilibrium, it transcends perceptual knowledge with positive and negative experience. The nath in such a state is simultaneously both the meditator and the meditation and the divinity meditated upon. The Sunya or Sahaja of the Shaikh is also identical with the Sunya and the Sahaja of the Naths.

The author of this remarkable nath Hindi poetry. Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, used Alakh as his Hindi *nom de plume*. The Shaikh was initiated into the Chishti Sabiri order of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haqq who, like his father, wrote Hindi verses, some of which were incorporated by Shaikh Abdul Quddus into the *Rushd-Nama* Shaikh Arif's successor was Shaikh Muhammad who was the same age as Shaikh Abdul Quddus. In order to have a living pir as a guide, the latter obtained initiation from Shaikh Muhammad and also claimed to have directly obtained inspiration from the spirit of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haqq.

Shaikh Ruknuddin (d. 1575-76), the son of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, claimed that God had sent prophets to India who had preached *Tawhid* (divine unity) and ethical principles in the indigenous languages. However, he believed that the devilish nature of later Hindus had prompted

them to write books which, while they incorporated the teachings of the true prophets, were interpolated with ideas legitimizing idol worship and infidelity.<sup>28</sup>

It was in the fifteenth century that the *Qadiriya silsilah*, 'the Qadiri order', reached India and on account of the universal popularity of its founder Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad, its saints soon received respectable attention from Muslims and other people, and attracted thousands and thousands of them to their spiritual disciple. At the same century, another spiritual order, the *Shattariya silsilah*, 'the Shattari order', also got introduced itself in the Indian Sub Continent. Its followers (Shattari Sufis) exerted considerable influence on the contemporary society during the early years of the Mughal Empire. Both common people and ruling class felt attracted to them. Syed Mohammad Ghauth of Gwalior was the most leading personality amongst them. Humayun had deep faith in him.<sup>29</sup> The saint had undergone rigorous spiritual practices. He had spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the Chunar hills, near Mirzapur in the eastern part of the modern Uttar Pradesh, practicing the most severe austerities and subsisting on the leaves of trees.<sup>30</sup> He was a prolific writer as well and produced the famous works, *Jawahar-i Khamisa* and *Bahr-ul Hayat*. The latter work discusses the impact of Hindu ideas on Muslim mysticism. Ghauth Gwaliori's knowledge of Hindu mystic thought was deep and intimate. His approach was sympathetic and unprejudiced. He had cordial relations with Hindus. He would stand up to welcome every Hindu visitor. His hobby was keeping bulls and cows.<sup>31</sup>

Among the saints of the Qadiriya Silsilah in the sixteenth century Shaikh Amanullah Panipati, commonly called Shaikh Aman Panipati, held significant position. His mystic ideas and the interpretation of Ibn 'Arabi's

thought brought a number of Hindus close to him. The saint's interpretations of the concept of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* undoubtedly attracted several Hindu saints and created the environment promoting the communal harmony.

It is also said that there is something common with Chaitanya and his followers and Sufis such as Nur Qutb-i Alam and his Khalifas. The deep impact made by Chaitanya was felt on a more popular level, for example in the Baul movement.

The Bauls were a popular group of Muslim and Hindu singers in Bengal who used mainly songs in the tradition of Chaitanya. The Muslim Bauls followed Sufi traditions while the Hindu Bauls were Vaishnavites. The movement began in Nadia from where it spread to all parts of Bengal. Among the beliefs of the Hindu Bauls was that Bhirbhadra, a son of Nityananda (1473-1544) was their first Guru and received the Baul faith from a Muslim woman called Madhava Bibi. But the beginning of the movement are as shrouded in mystery as is the origin of the word Baul. The Sanskrit words *Vatula* (affected by wind disease, that is crazy) and *Vyakula* (Impatiently eager) are suggested as possible roots of the word. A Hindi variation, *Baur*<sup>32</sup> (Also meaning crazy) has been suggested, as a closer Hindi equivalent Baula, with the same translation. All these words are compatible both with the poetry of the Bauls and their philosophy of life. They borrowed ideas from the Vaishnava Sahajiyas who preferred to achieve the state of *Sahaja* (the ultimate nature of the self) not through yogic practices but by a process of the divinization of human love, as represented in the Radha/Krishna union.

The popularity of vaishnavite themes used in Sufi *sama* rituals of Hindi speaking regions is a most remarkable development. The Sufis regarded them

as welcome additions of their devotional poetry to induce ecstasy. In 1566, Mir Abdul wahid Bilgarami compiled a Persian dictionary of Hindi songs which had been well known to Sufis giving prominence to those known by Vaishnavites. The work is entitled the *Haqaiq-i Hindi* and is divided into three sections. The first section gives a mystic explanation of Hindi words used in Dhurpad songs. The second section allegorically explains the words used in Vaishnavite songs in Braj Bhasha, the dialects of the Mathura region.<sup>33</sup> The Mir justifies the popularity of the names of Kafirs used in Sufi *Sama* on the grounds that the Quran itself uses the names of both Kafirs and enemies. The third section gives the Sufi explanation of the words used in Hindi Sufi poetry. Nabhaji, the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, the celebrated biographical dictionary of the Saints written at the end of the sixteenth century.

Malik Muhammad Jaisi was also known as *Muhaqqiq-i Hind* (Researcher of Indian truth), born in 1494-5, he began to write good poetry at thirty, 'padmavati', begun in 1520-21, was a preliminary literary exercise by its author, who finally took it up seriously in the reign of Sher Shah completing in 1540, Jaisi also wrote the *Akhiri-Kalam* in Babar's reign and another work the *Akhravat* apparently before the padmavati. His other works in Hindi are the *Kanhavat* the *Kahra-nama*, *Pusti-Nama* and *Holi-Nama* and other *Sorathas*<sup>34</sup>, which are still unfounded. A Hindi Masnavi entitled *Chitra Rekha* which is not mentioned in the *Maarij-ul Wilayat* has been published. In his *Maarij-ul Wilayat*, Qasuri reproduces a number of *Soratha* from the *Akhravat* and explains them on the basis of the *Wahdat-al Wujud*. An unending war against obstinate orthodoxy and meaningless ritualism was waged by the Hindu Bhaktas or Saints of the fifteenth and sixteenth century in the Hindi and Panjabi speaking regions of northern India. They were hostile to all idolatrous

practices and caste distinctions and with equal vehemence ridiculed Muslim forms of worship, Bhaktas came from all classes of Hindu society, but their devotionalism was not concerned with any particular God or one of his incarnations.

Sufis considered Kabir to be a Muwahhid (follower of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*), once Shaikh Ruzqullah Mushtaqi, asked his father, Shaikh Sadullah, a contemporary of Kabir, whether the celebrated Kabir, whose *Bishupads* were on everyone's lips, was a Muslim or a Kafir, the reply was that he was a muwahhid the Shaikh then asked whether a muwahhid differed from both, Shaikh Sadullah replied that the truth was difficult to understand and such knowledge could only be acquired gradually.<sup>35</sup>

Abul-Fazl refers to two different tombs of Kabir one at Puri in Orissa and the other at Ratanpur in Awadh. Although Guru Nanak was a monotheist, it was not the unity of God which the orthodox muslims believed to be his main interest but the unity of Being or the *Wahdat-al wujud* represented as *Dvaitadvaita-Vilak Shanavada* by the nath sages. Based on *om* the absolute of Nanak's teachings in ek-omkar (The one indivisible absolute Being) or the absolute Reality, the absolute is beyond the time process, is unincarnated and named par-Brahm (transcendent). The Japji the opening chapter of the *Adi Granth* which all Sikhs are required to repeat in the morning.

The most famous Qadiri saint of the seventeenth century was Miyan Mir of Lahore. He flourished during the times of Jahangir and Shahjahan. Both these Emperors held him in high esteem and are reported to have visited the saint's *Khanqah* on different occasions. Shahjahan's eldest son Dara Shukoh was his devout follower and had joined the discipline of the saint's famous

*Khalifa* Mulla Shah Badakhshi Kashmiri. Dara wrote Miyan Mir's biography entitled *Sakinat-ul Auliya* in Persian. Miya Mir's *Khanqah* was a centre of Hindu-Muslim joint gatherings. People of both the communities obtained his spiritual blessings.<sup>36</sup> The Sikh sources reveal Miyan Mir as a great admirer of their path and panth.<sup>37</sup> The saint is also mentioned to have laid the foundation stone of the Harminder Saheb in the *Golden Temple* at Amritsar.<sup>38</sup> Mulla Shah, who succeeded Miyan Mir as his chief *khalifa*, was a liberal sufi thinker. He believed in the fundamental uniformity of all religious beliefs.<sup>39</sup> He would pay respect to both mosque and temple.<sup>40</sup>

Dara Shikoh, though not a practicing sufi, had great faith in spiritual path. He had friendly relations with many contemporary saints. He had gone to very deep in studying Hindu and Islamic mysticism. His works on the subject undoubtedly reveal his deep religious as well as scholarly insight. His most significant work, the *Majma-ul Bahrain* (Meeting of Two Oceans), played significant role in Hindu-Muslim unity in the country. He also translated *Upanishads* into Persian. Dara urged on identity of Sufi and vedantic philosophy, and propounded, "Life lies concealed in every idol and, Faith lies hidden beneath Infidelity".<sup>41</sup> He asserted the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Samaveda* and the *Atharveda* were the Divinely revealed Books. He believed they had been revealed to the ancient Indian prophets, the greatest of whom was Brahma or Adam.<sup>42</sup>

A contemporary of Dara Shikoh was the sufi known as Sarmad. He occupies significant place among the spiritual personalities of the seventeenth century. He took spoke in the same strain when he said that there is no difference between a mosque and a temple. According to him, "It is He (God)

and he alone who takes the form of the 'blackstone' of *Kaba* in one place and becomes the idols of the Hindus in the other".<sup>43</sup>

At the same time when Dara Shikoh was engaged in writing his works on mysticism, another sufi of prominence, Shah Muhibullah Ilahabadi, emerged as renowned exponent of communal harmony. Hindus frequently obtained his spiritual blessings.<sup>44</sup> He holds a unique place among the distinguished sufi intellectuals of the seventeenth century. He deserves special mention in advocating a tolerant attitude; divide of prejudice and discrimination against Hindus. He permitted his disciples to teach suluk (the sufi path) to the Hindus and draw parallels from the *ashloks* of their scriptures to explain the sufi ideology.<sup>45</sup> According to Shah Muhibullah the mission of the Prophet of Islam was an elaboration of epithet or "mercy unto all human beings" and it signified the shedding of all discrimination based on religion. He said the *Quran* intended to embrace the entire human race within the ambit of its application and the Muslims and non-Muslims were equal partners in the domain of God. He was of the strong opinion that in matters of state policies, programmes and opportunities any discrimination of the one being a Muslim or a non-Muslim is of no consequence since it would nullify the very purpose of the Prophetic Mission of the Prophet of Islam.<sup>46</sup>

During his early studies, Dara could not have ignored the various Persian translations of Sanskrit works in Akbar's *Maktab-Khana* (translation bureau) and other Sanskrit works translated during Jahangir's reign, quite possibly aroused his interest in Hindu philosophy and mysticism. Moreover there were a number of Sanskrit scholars at Shahjahans court whom the Emperor had liberally rewarded and to whom he gave ostentatious Sanskrit



titles. Banwali Das Wali, one of Dara's secretaries had been instructed in Sufism by Mulla Shah and was a historian, translator and poet. Another of Dara's Secretaries, Rai Chandrabhan Brahman, can only be described as a genius<sup>47</sup>, Jagannath Misra and Kavindracharya<sup>48</sup> Sarasvati of Banaras, both eminent Sanskritists, were also attached to Dara Shukoh entourage. During the prince's Qandahar campaign in 1653 tantrists (such as Indra Gire), yogis and their disciples, and Muslim Holy men were ordered by Dara Shukoh to use their magical powers against the enemy. An account of their role in the siege, documented in a diary by Rashid Khan Badi al-Zaman, reads like a melodrama.<sup>49</sup> However, one must remember that in those days both the devil and angels were traditionally invoked to achieve worldly success, even the orthodox Aurangzeb was known to have called on the power of talismans during the Satnami Rebellion.

Dara Shukoh described Baba Lal as a *Mundiya* (Shaven-headed monk) and a follower of Kabirs school<sup>50</sup>. According to Wilson's research, Baba Lal was born in Jahangir's reign in Malwa in Rajasthan and later became the disciple of Chetan Swami, a Vaishnavite Bhakta, Baba Lal held conversations with Dara Shukoh on seven different occasions, during which he spoke in the Hindi dialect then used by *Sadhus* (holy men) in northern India. Dara Shukoh may have picked this up from Sufi poetry in Hindi communication may also have been assisted by Rai Chandrabhan Brahman and Qanungo is quite wrong in his assumption of very simple questions and answers which were later published in a number of different versions. Some questions on Hindu mythology and mysticism were omitted in early versions and later included in Chandrabhan's unabridged version of the *Nadir-un Nikat*.<sup>51</sup>

Dara Shukoh's questions on Hindi mythology and philosophy and Baba Lal's replies are now available in only a few copies of the *Mukalama* and *Nadir-un Nikat*. Baba Lal believed that idol worship in Hinduism was designed to help the concentration of the devotee and that it was essential for those who were devoid of inner control. However, the Baba believed it was unnecessary for true spiritualists and he used the analogy of little girls who played with dolls and then abandoned the game when they had children of their own. The belief that those who died in Kashi attained salvation was not a queer idea, Baba Lal said, for Kashi symbolized *Wujud* (Being) and extinction in *Wujud* was a means to Salvation.<sup>52</sup>

Dara Shukoh states that he embarked on a quest for the mystic truth of the Hindu Muwahhids (followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*) after discovering the subtle secrets of Sufism. His discussion with Hindu saints had convinced him that, with the exception of verbal differences, the understanding of reality in the two systems was identical. A detailed comparison had been his aim in the *Majma-ul Bahrain* as well as the recording of some facts about mystics whose knowledge was indispensable for all the seekers after the truth. Dara Shukoh implied that an appreciation of the subtleties of *Tasawwuf* in both Islamic Sufism and Hindu mysticism was the exclusive domain of the elite of both religions. He claimed his conclusions had emerged from his own intuition and illumination. To silence reproaches from his Muslim enemies, he concluded his introduction with a painted quote from the celebrated Naqshbandiyya saint, Khwaja Ubaidullah Abrar. If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin, is singing the note of *Tawhid*, I go to him, hear him, and am grateful to him.<sup>53</sup>

Dara identified *Ishq* (love) with *Maya*, A Hindi word meaning 'fascination', and not with the metaphysical Sanskrit term meaning 'illusion'. The love of Ruh-i Azam maintained Dara Shukoh, prompted it to create *jivatman* (the great soul), which is identical with the *Haqiqat-i Muhammadi* (the reality of Muhammad). In the terminology of the Hindu Muwahhids, according to Dara Shukoh, the latter is called *Hiranya-garbha*<sup>54</sup> or *Avasthatman*, then came into existence the element (unsure) of wind which Dara Shukoh equated with the *Nafas-Rahman*<sup>55</sup> (breath of Divine compassion). This wind was within the being and when it was breathed into *Adam*, it came out hot, and fire came out of this air, But the same breath was endowed with the qualities of mercy and unity, and it became cold and in this way water was created from fire, sound, according to Dara Shukoh, also emanated from the same breath of the Divine compassion, which pronounced the word *Kun* (Be) at the time of the creation of the universe.<sup>56</sup>

Dara then discussed the Sufi concept of spheres, adding that some Sufis considered there were four spheres. *Alam-i Nasut* (sphere of humanity), *Alam-i malakut* (the invisible angelic sphere), *Alam-i Jabarut* (celestial world of Divine Names), and *Alam-i lahut* (sphere of the Godhead), others. However, distinguished the *Alam-i misal* (world of analogies) from the *Alam-i Malakut* and therefore counted five. The Sanskrit equivalents to the four spheres of Sufis were *jagrat* (nasut), *Svapna* (malakut), *Susupti* (Jabarut) and *Turiya* (Lahut). Dara Shukoh explained *Jagrat* as the world of manifestation and wakefulness, *Svapna* as the world of souls and dreams, and *susupti* as the world in which all distinctions of 'I' and 'thou' were stripped away.

Dara Shukoh believed the fourth Hindu sphere *Turiya* (Lahat) was identical with being and encircled and comprehended all the other three worlds. The spiritual journey of humans from the nasut to the Malakut, from the Malakut to the jabarut and from the Jabarut to lahut, represented an ascent, likewise the Reality of Realities (which Hindus identified with Avasan, the absolute) descended from the lahut to the Jabarut, from the jabarut to the Malakut and from the Malakut to Nasut, to adherents of the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, the ascent of man and the descent of the absolute were a perpetual phenomenon which applied also to Hindu mystic who followed the unity of Being.<sup>57</sup>

Dara-Shukoh identified the *Triguna* (the three guna or attributes in Hindu philosophy), *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*<sup>58</sup>, with the beauty and majesty of God, to him, Sattva was creation, Rajas was duration and tamas was destruction. Dara Shukoh identified Brahma with jibrail, Vishnu with Mikail and Mahesvara (Siva) with Israfil<sup>59</sup>. All of Dara Shukoh's explanations were given within the framework of Ibn Arabi's theory that the universe was simultaneously the manifestation and creation of God.

Dara Shukoh, the Sanskrit equivalents of the Absolute, the ultimate principle and the hidden and Necessary Being were Asanga, Nirguna, Nirankar, Niranjana, Sattva, Chit, etc. Dara Shukoh identified Allah with the Sanskrit *om* Huwa (He) with Sah, *Firishta* (Angels) with divata and the *Mazhar-i Atam* (Perfect manifestation) with Avatara. Through Avatara according to Dara Shukoh, *Qudra* (creative power of God) was manifested in such a way as would not have been manifested otherwise.<sup>60</sup>

Although Dara Shukoh made a point of asserting that the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Samaveda* and the *Atharvaveda* were the Divinely revealed

Books. He believed they had been revealed to the Ancient Indian prophets, the greatest of whom was Brahma or Adam. The mystical secrets, devotional exercises and Tawhid described in the *Vedas* were contained in the upnikhats (*Upanishads*). In Ancient times philosophers separated the Upanishads into different parts and wrote commentaries on them, and according to Dara, the study of the Upanishads had always been regarded as the highest form of worship.

The seventeenth century also witnessed another sufi whose affiliation was with the Qadiri order. He was Shaikh Mohammad who lived in Maharashtra. He preached sufi morals in the region through the medium of Marathi. He identified in his famous work *Dochashma* the common ground of philosophical concepts and ideas of Vedanta and Sufism. Maloji Bhosale had sanctioned, 'land-grant' to his *Khanqah*.<sup>61</sup>

The attitude of Shah Abdur Razzaq of Bansa to Krishna, Rama the Lakshmana was also interesting. In his time *Bairagis* or Hindu mendicants enjoyed considerable prestige because they fought for the Nawabs of Awadh. Renowned for their courage, the Bairagis were admired by Hindus and Muslims alike for the intensity of their spirituality. Shah Abdur Razzaq's relations with champat, the leader of a group of Bairagis from Awadh, were very cordial and involved a large degree of mutual respect. Champat invariably invited Shah Abdur Razzaq to theatrical performances featuring popular stories about Krishna and the *gopis* (cow girls). Local Hindu and Muslim ascetic and Zamindars were also often invited to such entertainments so moved was the Shah that verses of Kabir always threw him into a state of ecstasy.<sup>62</sup>

Shah Kalimullah Chishti of Delhi, who emerged at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century also was very liberal towards Hindus. He made efforts towards deepening the relations between Hindus and Muslims<sup>63</sup> and never hesitated in imparting spiritual training to Hindus. In one of his epistles (*maktubat*) he writes:

*Sulh ba Hindu wa Musalman sazand wa har ki azin do firqa ki i'tiqad ba shuma dashta bashand, zikr-o fikr, maraqaba wa ta'lim u bigoyand.*

[You should maintain peace and friendship between Hindus and Muslims, and whosoever from amongst them has faith in you, you should give him the training of *Zikr*, *Fikr* and *Maraqaba*; and impart spiritual knowledge to him].<sup>64</sup>

Another important aspect of Shah Kalimullah's system of spiritual training was that he sometimes imparted Hindu *jogis* method of recitation to some of his disciples. He writes in his *Kashkol*:

“There are eighty four baithaks (sittings), in *Jog* (Yoga), and each of them has special benefits”.<sup>65</sup> In his youth he himself had followed a pattern of Yoga known as *Anhad*.<sup>66</sup> He (further) writes; “This pattern (of Yoga) is very fruitful and common amongst Hindus and Muslims; it brings peace, satisfaction and onesidedness to heart and mind”.<sup>67</sup>

It may, therefore, be concluded by saying that Muslim saints known as *Sufis* and *Mashaikh*, have played significant role in preaching love among the followers of different religions and communities in our great country during the medieval period. Their ideas and action always created communal harmony in India. Accordingly their contribution in this regard is of great value and it can not be over emphasized.<sup>68</sup>

## References

1. K.A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, Vol. 1, New Delhi, 1980, p. 383.
2. Ibid.
3. K.A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13<sup>th</sup> Century*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 236 (later quoted as 'Some Aspects').
4. Ibid., p. 239.
5. Ibid., p. 184.
6. Mir Khurd, *Siyar-ul Auliya*, Delhi, 1302 A.H., p. 45.
7. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, (Sir Syed Edition), Delhi, 1273 A.H., p. 270.
8. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 45.
9. *Some Aspects*, p. 184.
10. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 46.
11. Ibid.
12. *Some Aspects*, p. 185.
13. Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi Sawali of Nagaur, the follower (the *Khalifa*) of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, also played significant role in creating an environment of communal harmony. Called by his preceptor as the *Sutan-ut Tarikin* (the king of Recluses). Shaikh Hamiduddin lived the self sufficient life of an Indian peasant at Suwal, a village in Nagaur in Rajputana. Whatever he needed he himself produced, and his needs never exceeded a few maund of grain and a few yards of rough hand woven cloth. He lived in a small mud house and eked out his meager subsistence by cultivating a single Bigha of land. He cultivated half of his land in one season and the other half in the next. He dressed himself like a typical Indian peasant and used two sheets of cloth to cover the upper and the lower parts of his body. He kept a cow in his house and himself milched it. Throughout the life, he preferred poverty and never

accepted any grant or gift from any ruler or noble. People of all sections benefited from his spiritual greatness. *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, Vol. I, p. 213. Like most of the villagers amongst whom he lived, Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi was a strict vegetarian. His dislike for meat eating was so great that he warned his disciples against distributing meat preparations for blessing his soul after his death. He even did not like the slaughter of animals. The author of *Surur-us Sudur*, the biography and collection of the *malfuzat* of the saint, says : *Na khwastand ki az barai ishan wa ba sabab-i ishan jani bi jan shawad* [He did not like any living being to be deprived of its life for him or on account of him]. *Some Aspects*, p. 239.

According to K.A. Nizami, "It was his deep faith in *Ahimsa* which made him a strict vegetarian" (*Some Aspects*, p. 240). He exhorted his disciples again and again to develop vegetarian tastes. He carried on conversations in Hindawi, the then form of Hindi language, or according to some others the early form of Urdu. The saint was a man of affable temperament and wide sympathies which made him a popular figure among all inhabitants in Nagaur. His catholicity of views is best illustrated by the fact that he could discern and appreciate spiritual values in non-Muslims also. Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti's another descendant, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya emerged as the most popular spiritual personality of his time. For more than a century his *Khanqah* was a great centre of spirituality, brotherhood integration and harmony. People thronged to him in large number for spiritual gain. In the beginning of his spiritual career he established his *Khanqah* in Ghiyaspur in Delhi. The reigning monarch Sultan Alauddin Khaliji offered villages to him but he refused to accept them saying that he did not need his gift; Allah is enough for him and his servants. After some time he also established, attached to his *khanqah*, a free Kitchen *langar*, where thousands of people without any discrimination took their meal



every day. But the saint himself took nothing from his langar. He observed fast every day and did not have any particle of food, except a small pinch of salt and a bowl of water, at the time of *Sehr* the dawn, during the month of Ramazan because he used to say many people might have gone to bed without eating anything. (*Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 128). Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya was always kind and sympathetic to all human beings. He even did not feel any sort of harm, (rather he took it as very auspicious), in extending help and support to foes and opponents. He used to say, "If a man places thorns (in your way), and you do the same, it will be thorns every where". He often recited these verses :

*Har ki ma ra yar na buwad, Izad u ra yar bad;  
Wa anki ma ra ranja darad, rahatash bisyar bad;  
Har ki u dar rah-i ma, khari nihad az dushmani;  
Har guli kuz bagh-i umrash, bishiguftad, bi khar bad.*

[He who is not my friend, may God be his friend. And he who bears ill-will against me, may his joys increase. He who puts thorns in my way on account of enmity; May every flower that blossoms in the garden of his life; be without thorns.] (*Fawaid-ul Fuad*, p. 125-6).

It was just because of these great human values that Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya had become the ruler of people's hearts. They came to him for different purposes. Some of them asked him to pray for their daughter's marriage, others sought his blessings for the removal of their poverty. In short different people brought different problems and the Shaikh listened to and prayed for all of them. Nobody was ever asked of his caste and creed. (*Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, vol. I, p. 226). The doors of his *Jama'at Khana* (the Khanqah), remained opened for every one from early morning to late night. (Ziyauddin Barni, *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, Calcutta, 1860, (Sir Syed edition), pl. 343).

14. *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. III, p. 19.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

16. Ibid., p. 35.
17. Also known as *Alakhbani* the *Rushd Nama* has been critically edited and published by S.A.A. Rizvi and S. Zaidi in 1971 from Aligarh.
18. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, pp. 336-37
19. सबद  
 अलखदास आँखै सुन लोई। दुइ दुइ मत कहौ भाई कोई।  
 जल थल म्हेल सरब निरन्तर। गोरखनाथ अकेला सोई॥
- सबद  
 मरिहौ पंडित मरनो मीठा। जो मरना श्री गोरख घीठा।  
 मूए ते जिउ जाय जहा। जीवत ही लै रखो तहों॥  
 जीउ ते चीरे जो कोई मुश्रा। सोइ खेलै परम निसंक हुआ॥
20. Sabad or Sabda means word, but it may also mean a hymn.
21. यह मन सकती यह मन सीब। यह मन तीन भुवन का जीव।  
 यह मन लै जो उन्मनि रहें। तीन भुवन का वातै कहै॥
22. Namaz performed hanging upside down with the legs suspended from a roof or a branch of a tree. See the sections on Shaikh Abu said bin Abul Khair, pp. 68-69. Supra, and Baba Farid, p. 139.
23. *Alakhbani*, pp. 66-67.
24. श्लोक  
 छितीस जुग नाम निरंजन (कलि मदूघे) भंजौ खुदाय।  
 अनादि रूपी हंमन सृष्टि रची देवै रूपी जग तए की माय ॥
25. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 337.
26. सबद  
 जहिया होता एक अंकार। कोई न चिन्ता सून विचार॥  
 थूल भएं हम जाना सून। जो जानै तिस पाप न पून॥

27. Like the Brahman of the *Upanishads* and *Vedanta* and the Nirvana of the Mahayanists, the State of *Sahaja* is indefinable and can not be understood dialectically but only through actual experience, the state of *Sahaja* is achieved by transcending dialectics. *Yoga*, pp. 268-69.
28. Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, *Rushd-Nama*, Appendix, Aligarh Muslim University MS, f. 51a.
29. K.A. Nizami, "The Shattari Saints and Their Attitude Towards the State", *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2, October, 1950, pp. 63-67.
30. Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1869, pp. 4-5.
31. *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 59.
32. *Obscure Religious cults*, p. 161.
33. The author calls them Vishnupad, But Rudr-Kashike says that he was not aware of the Vishnupadhati (style) in Hindi music. Introduction to the author's Hindi translation of the *Haqaiq-i Hindi*, Kashi, 1957, p. 19.
34. The name of a metre used in Hindi poetry.
35. Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi, *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, New Delhi, 1309 AH/1914 AD, p. 300.
36. For detailed Study, See, Dara Shikoh, *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, Tehran, 1965.
37. Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1963, p. 94.
38. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of Sikh Gurus*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 91.
39. Hasrat Bikramajit, *Dara Shikoh: Life and Works*, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 87-88.
40. Anonymous, *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, Lucknow, 1904, pp. 391-92.
41. K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shikoh*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 88.
42. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, p. 423.

43. Arsh Malsiyani, *Naghma-i Sarmad*, Lahore (n.d.), p. 25.
44. S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i Kaushar*, New Delhi, 1984, (Reprint), pp. 440-41.
45. M. Zameeruddin Siddiqui, "Shah Muhibullah Ilahabadi and the Liberal traditions in Islam", *Proceedings, Indian History Congress* (Both Gaya Session), 1981, p. 292.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
47. Chandrabhan Brahman, the son of Dharam Das Brahman was born at Lahore and obtained higher education in Islamic philosophy and theology under Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti in 1629, had appointed his *Diwan-i Kull*, After Afzal Khans death in 1639. Shahjahan in 1645 appointed him as the *waqia Nawis-i Huzar*. After the Death of Dara Shukoh he retired to lead the life of a recluse in Banaras and died there in 1662-3.
48. Kavindracharya Sarasvati of Banaras is well-known for his Sanskrit anthology Kavindra Chandrodaya, Shahjahan conferred upon him the title of Sarvavidyanidhana. *Dara Shukoh*, p. 215.
49. *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 34-49.
50. *Dar tariqa-i Kabir or a Kabir-panthi*, Hasnat-ul Arifin, p. 24.
51. *Dara Shukoh*, pp. 241-51.
52. *Mukalma*, f. 11b.
53. Dara Shukoh, *Majma-ul Bahrain*, Text with English translation by M. Mahfuz-ul Haqq, Calcutta, 1929. text, pp. 80-81, translation, p. 38.
54. According to the Hindu cosmology the eternal first cause formed the Hiranyagarbha or 'Golden womb', a golden cosmic egg which floated upon the surface of the primeval waters. In early Hindu philosophy this egg is often equated with the cosmic intelligence or soul, and in later myth with Brahma. *Hindu World*, I, pp. 252-53.

55. Henry Corbein, *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi*, pp. 115-16, 120-23, 184-85, 297-300.
56. *Majma ul-Bahrain*, Tehran nd., pp. 48-52.
57. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, p. 420.
58. Guna in Hindu philosophy is used to indicate the attribute or property of a thing and is of wide application. In Samkhya philosophy the term guna refers specially to the three constituent principles of Prakriti or primordial substances, namely, *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*. *Sattva*, goodness inherent in purity and brightness, is equated with reality and intelligence. *Rajas* 'Passion' inherent in energy, force and movement, is the power that activates and excites the other two gunas. *Tamas* 'Darkness' inherent in Mass or Matter, is equated with inertia, gloom and stupor. It is illusive and results from avidya or ignorance. *Hindu World*, II, p. 264.
59. *Majma-ul Bahrain*, pp. 44-48.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-99.
61. Asghar Ali Engineer, *Sufism and Communal Harmony*, Jaipur, 1991, pp. 75-77.
62. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 396-97.
63. *Islam in Northern India during the eighteenth century*, p. 370.
64. Mohammad Qasim, *Maktubat-i Kalimi*, Delhi, 1301 A.H., p. 74.
65. *Kashkol-i Kalimi*, Delhi, 1311 A.H., p. 41.
66. *Ibid* (Shah Kalimullah writes that Miyan Mir Qadiri of Lahore and his followers also had adopted this pattern of Yoga. See, *ibid.*, p. 64.).
67. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
68. This attitude of the Sufis of different silsilahs did not stop here. I was carried on even during the later century. Mention may be made on Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Jahan was renowned saint of the Naqshbandiya silsilah

(the Naqshbandi order), during the eighteenth century. Born in 1699 in an aristocratic family of Delhi, Mirza Jan-i Janan was a unique personality of his time in literary excellence. He was author of several works. His letters specially deserve to be deeply studied. Jan-i Janan held *Upnishads* as, Heavenly Scriptures. *Rud-i Kauthar*, pp. 646-47. He writes: "Understand it clearly that what we can infer from the ancient books of the Hindus is that when the world was created, the Divine Mercy revealed a book called *Veda*, which has been divided into four parts and contains the positive commandments and Prohibitive injunctions, also an account of the past and future world. Its object is to reform the life of men through faith, through an angle, called *Brahma*, who is also a root cause of the creation of the world". Also see, *Islam in northern India During the Eighteenth Century*, p. 526. Jan-i Jana further writes: "The sages of ancient times have derived six systems of philosophy from that Book, tracing their faith and tenets from it". Describing the Vedic science, he says: "The science propounded in them is called *Dharma Shastra*, which means the science of duty". Regarding the sects among Hindus, Mirza says: "Their religious leaders divided the human race into four groups; and for every group they fixed a separate path, doctrines and responsibilities based on their professions. This compilation is known as *Karma Shastra* i.e. law of action". Shedding light on religious beliefs of Hindus, he opines: "All these four castes of Hindus believe in the Oneness of God; they believe in the end of the world and reward and punishment for the good and bad deeds on the day of Resurrection and in the revealed book". Discussing the advent of prophets in India in ancient time, Mirza Mazhar says: "According to the Holy *Quran*, every community has its own prophet. God has not left the people of India without prophets". It is interesting to mention here that the term *Kafir* (Infidel) has been very controversial between Hindus and Muslims during the centuries in Indian Sub Continent. Hindus have

always taken the term as their insult and humiliation. Almost all the Sufis always endeavoured to be sympathetic towards Hindus in regard to this particular aspect and respecting their sentiments avoided to call them *Kafir*. Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan also had the same sufi spirit. He expresses his views in this regard, in the same latter, in these words: “In succession to our Prophet, no other prophet will be sent till the end of the world, either in the East or in the West. Everyone is bound to obey him and all other religions are to be replaced by him. Those who have not accepted this religion are *Kafirs* (pagans); but not those who preceded our Prophet’s birth. Again, the Holy *Quran* says that there are some prophets about whom information has been imported to you, while there are others about whom you have been not furnished with any particular. Thus, when the *Quran* has preferred to remain silent about many prophets, it is incumbent on us to adopt a liberal attitude with regard to the prophets of India. No one should be called Kafir”.

## Chapter V

# *Political Life (Sufis and State)*



## Chapter - V

### POLITICAL LIFE (SUFIS AND STATE)

There has been difference of opinion among the Sufis of different Silsilahs as regard to join government services, have contact with the rulers and ruling class, and participate in the political affairs of their areas. The early great saints of the *Chishtiyah* order during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries strictly avoided the company of the rulers and nobles.<sup>1</sup> They were of the view that the association with kings and rich people was harmful to their spiritual upliftment.<sup>2</sup> They used to say that they have to live for God and die for Him.<sup>3</sup> They were also of the opinion that the company of ruler and nobles is an obstacle in the way of their prayers and spiritual practices.<sup>4</sup> When Sultan Alauddin Khalji invited Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to his court, the latter refused to go to the royal palace. Similarly, when the Sultan himself desired to visit the saint's *Khanqah*, Shaikh Nizamuddin sent him the reply: "There are two doors (entrances) of my house. If the Sultan enters through one gate, I shall go out from the other door".<sup>5</sup>

It was in the thirteenth century that there was another sufi order, the Suhrawardi Silsilah. Contrary to the Chishti saints, the Sufis of the Suhrawardi order had no objection in joining government services, making relation with rulers and officials and participating in the contemporary politics.<sup>6</sup> The founder of the Suhrawardi Silsilah in India Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan and his spiritual descendants frequently visited rulers courts, accepted *jagirs* etc. and joined government jobs.<sup>7</sup>

The saint who held highest position amongst the Sufis in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi who belonged to the *Sabiriyah* branch of the Chishti Silsilah. He was the first prominent saint of the Chishtiyah Silsilah who, contrary to the traditions of his spiritual ancestors, not only maintained cordial relations with the contemporary rulers but also actively participation in the politics of his time. Infact he flourished in an age when the political fabric of India was riven asunder into a number of kingdoms and petty principalities which were drawn into the vortex of power struggle to sustain their entity.<sup>8</sup> The Rajputs were growing in strength and an Afghan-Rajput conflict for supremacy in the north seemed imminent.<sup>9</sup>

The spectre of anarchy, misrule, social unrest and degeneration<sup>10</sup> and the deepening economic crisis loomed large. The laxity of administration and weakening of the central authority led to the migration of Muslims from Chanderi, Nagaur, Ajmer, Raudauli and other places.<sup>11</sup> Shaikh Ruknuddin remarked, "shortly afterwards the *Kafirs* established themselves in Hindustan and their rule was established over Rudauli. The laws of Islam were disregarded and pork began to be sold in Bazars. Abdul Quddus being concerned at the state of affairs left the place and went to Nakhna where Sultan Sikandar was camping.<sup>12</sup> Shaikh Abdul Quddus was gravely obsessed by the prevailing unrest and instability and cast off the inhibitions and time worn apathy towards the kings and nobles. He reversed his earlier stand of contemptuous disregard towards the persons in authority.<sup>13</sup> He now conceived the idea of exerting influence over the kings and nobles to arouse them to the grim realities of the situation and to establish tranquility, peace and order. For that purpose he opened correspondence with the dignitaries of the period. His

correspondence included Sultan Sikandar Lodi and a number of Afghan nobles, Babur and Humayun.

His relations with Sikandar Lodi seem to be cordial. In his letter to the Sultan, Shaikh Abdul Quddus exhorted him to strive for the welfare of and provide relief to the people at large and attend to the needs of the theologians and mystics.<sup>14</sup> He called the Sultan as Imam-i Adil and extolled him with such terms of encomium as *Roshan Zamir*, *Muniri Haq Pazir*, *Hazrat Zillullah fil Arz* on whom depends the sustenance of the World as the body depends for life on soul.<sup>15</sup> Further he called him the embodiment of the sublime virtues and spiritual attainments of the mystic saints, the pious devotees and the fighters in the path of the faith.<sup>16</sup> Then he emphasised the imperative need on the part of the Sultan to do justice to all his subjects since all pervading justice is of essence to the Kingship and one hour of justice of a King is preferable to sixth years of worship of others.<sup>17</sup>

In his letter to Sikandar Lodi the anguish of an afflicted heart over the distressing state of affairs in the country is clearly discernible. It seems probable that Sikandar Lodi who was a disciple and a devotee of Shaikh Abdul Quddus<sup>18</sup>, might have attached some measure of importance to the advice of the Shaikh.

Ibrahim Lodi was also devoted to the Shaikh as he made an effort to persuade him to accompany his army at the battle of Panipat.<sup>19</sup> Many adherents and disciples from the Afghan army crossed the river and came to seek his blessings.<sup>20</sup> It was probably due to his efforts that certain nobles like Mir Tardi were imbued with religious spirit.<sup>21</sup> Khawas Khan was praised for his services to the mystics.<sup>22</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Quddus wrote a number of letters to the nobles like Mir Mohammad, Mir Tardi, Ibrahim Khan Sherwani, Malik Shadi Thanesari, Haibt Khan Sherwani, Khawas Khan, Said Khan Sherwani and Dilawar Khan. making frantic appeals to them to live up to the ideals of Islam, to zealously uphold and strictly enforce the religious law and extend their patronage to the *Ulama*, render services to the mystics, spend lavishly for charitable purposes and dedicate themselves to the services of the people.<sup>23</sup> Some of them like Umar Khan, Khawas Khan, Dilawar Khan and Mian Bahwah were immensely attached to him.<sup>24</sup>

The invasions of Babur caused great havoc in the Punjab. The spoliation and pillage perpetrated by the Mughals on towns like Shahabad and Dipalpur moved Shah Abdul Quddus to his being.<sup>25</sup> When Babur gained a decisive victory at the battle of Panipat, Shah Abdul Quddus, despite his pro-Afghan leaning, wrote a letter to Babur who was a new comer to India, to impress upon his mind the obligations of a Muslim King as idealized by him.

His letter to Babur sets forth his views in regard to the functions and duties of a Muslim king. While acknowledging Babur's firm conviction in Islam and the Hanafi law and his devotion to the *Ulama* and the *Mashaikh*, Shaikh Abdul Quddus entreated him forcefully to extend utmost patronage and protection to the theologians, mystics, weak and the depressed to an extent that would surpass their glorification in all climes and at all times. They should be maintained and subsidized by the State.<sup>26</sup> It was specially stressed that the obligations of deep gratitude to God demanded that all pervading justice of the king should cast its shadow on the people and that no one should subject another to torture and tyranny and that all the people and soldiers hold fast to

all that has been ordained by Shara and abstain from all that has been forbidden.<sup>27</sup>

Further Shah Abdul Quddus emphasised the urgency for the king to create conditions in which all the Muslims could live in peace and prosperity and since the Sultan was God's shadow on earth and commanded respect and obedience from the Muslims in terms of the Quranic maxim, "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who are in authority among you", so it is incumbent upon him to look to the welfare of the *Fogirs*, the *Alims*, the pious, the weak and the poor.<sup>28</sup> Then he observed, "It should be seen that the people have a love for the *Ulama* and their teachings. *Muktasibs* should be appointed to the Bazars of each city for supervision and enforcement of the principles of *Shariat*."<sup>29</sup> The King should look to it that the congregational prayer of Friday is performed with all the requisite conditions. Islamic laws should be judiciously observed so that this reign attains to the apogee of perfection and glory. Pious Muslims should be posted to the provinces so that they may collect taxes in accordance with the principles of Shara.<sup>30</sup>

No non-Muslim should be given any office or employment in the Diwan of Islam as well as in the Capital of Islam. Posts of *Amirs* and *Amils* should be barred to them. Furthermore, in conformity with the principles of Shara they should be subjected to all types of indignities and humiliations. They (the non-Muslims) should be made to pay revenues of *Jaziya*, and *Zakat* on their goods should be levied as prescribed by law. They should be disallowed from donning the dress of the Muslims and should be forced to keep their Kufr concealed and not to perform ceremonies of Kufr openly and freely.<sup>31</sup> Stipends should not be paid to them from the *Bait-ul Maal* of Islam but they should

confine themselves to their own professions. They should not be allowed to consider themselves equal to the Muslims, so that the glory of Islam may reach its Zenith”.<sup>32</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Quddus addressed two letters to Humayun, one while he was a prince and the other after his accession. In the first letter while admiring Humayun’s piety and religious lanings with a sense of satisfaction he wrote that the prince “turned to the *Ulama* and the pious to solicit advice in all the affairs and associated with the mystic saints to traverse the path of (Divine) love and fully realised the worth of the votaries of exoteric and esoteric knowledge.”<sup>33</sup>

In the second letter addressed to Humayun after his accession, he called the Emperor by the epithets *Imam-i Zaman*, *Aman-i-haban*, *Nafiz-i Bilad Allah*, *Nasir-i Ibad Allab*, *Hazrat Zillullah*, then he felicitated Humayun on his return after gaining a victory and thereafter repeated his of quoted advice to patronize the *Ulama* and the pious and treat the mystics with love and respect which constitutes the ‘strong rope of God's favours’.<sup>34</sup> “In this connection the disparaging objections of the incompetent persons must be ignored”<sup>35</sup>.

Shaikh Abdul Quddus’s letter to Babur need be examined in the light of the existing circumstances of the time. His advice to Babur to protect and patronize the *Ulama*, the *Mashaikh*, the weak and the poor and establish peace and justice was in consonance with his constant yearning. The sack of some towns of note with sizeable groups of Muslim the logians and divines consequent upon Babur’s invasions distressed his heart.

The views expressed about the treatment to the Hindus do not accord well with this earlier expositions and attitude. He was an ardent exponent of the

theory of the *Wahdat-ul Wujud* and felt no reluctance in learning the esoteric knowledge of *Tauhid* from a *yogi*, Bal Nath.<sup>36</sup> He had implicit faith in the unity and indivisibility of mankind and had dwelt on the futility of the invidious distinctions between a believer and an unbeliever.<sup>37</sup> His proposals to Babur to exclude the Hindus from employment under the state and keep them in subjection constitute a drift which is in strange contrast to the dominant traits of harmony and eclecticism in his writings. This shift in his erstwhile stand might have been occasioned partly by the increasing number of Hindu officials in the revenue department<sup>38</sup>, and partly by the Hindu rebellions and loss of certain regions like Rudauli to the Muslims<sup>39</sup>, with attending repression and persecution and assassination of some Muslim families at the hands of some Hindu chieftains in Bihar<sup>40</sup>, as well as the expression of blasphemous and hetrodox belief and adoption of unislamic rites by some Muslims in consequence of the social impact of the Hindus.<sup>41</sup> Abdul Quddus of Gangoh intended to impart a religious spirit and enthusiasms to the political leaders of the time and sought to circumvent the unbridled despotism of the rulers.

It is difficult to appraise the effectiveness of the attempts on the part of Shaikh Abdul Quddus to lend a religious colour to the administrative set up of Sikandar Lodi, Babur and Humayun. But the instructions dispensed to Sikandar Lodi might probably have supplied the impetus in the evolution of the religious proclivities of the Sultan and his extensive patronage to the *Ulama* and the *Mashaikh* and his manifold acts of charity. But the Mughals seem to have remained impervious to the validity of his proposals as the ramified system of administration necessitated a catholic and literal outlook.

Perhaps his example inspired the Chishti mystics of the eighteenth century like Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, Shaikh Nizamuddin Aurangabadi and Shah Fakhr-uddin Dehlawi who emphasised the necessity of stimulating moral consciousness of the political personages of the time.

### **Qadiri saint and Contemporary Politics**

The Qadiri Sufis did not develop a uniform attitude towards the government and the rulers of the day. Sometimes the outlook and ideology of the members of the same family towards the state differed. Some Qadiris, following the traditions of the founder of the order, kept aloof from the rulers and the court politics and did not accept any financial help, and depended solely for their livelihood on *Futuh* (unasked for charity).

The Sufis of Qadiri Silsilah may be divided into two broad categories: (1) Those who remained aloof from din and noise of materialistic world and spent their time in devotion and prayers. (2) Those who received favours from the kings and officers and maintained cordial relations with them. They enjoyed the trust and confidence of the reigning monarchs and made recommendations for the needy persons. The rulers in appreciation of their merit appointed them to the posts of *Qazis*, and offered them gifts, *inam* lands and *Madad-i Maash* grants.

Makhdum Abdul Qadir's relations with the contemporary rulers were far from being cordial. He adopted the policy of dignified aloofness and disliked to associate with them. His father Makhdum Muhammad Ghaus received many grants. After his father's death he was legally entitled to become the *Sajjadah nashin*, but all his brothers, holding high offices in the court did their utmost to deprive him of his right. In fact each of his brothers staked his claim for this



position, and to achieve the objectives, they collectively tried to create misunderstanding between Abdul Qadir and the king.<sup>42</sup> Having learnt of the intrigues of an organized group in the court and the changed attitude of the king towards him, Makhdum Abdul Qadir II, sent back all the royal *farmans*, through which *inam*, *imlak* and *madad-i ma'ash* grants had been conferred on his father. He wrote to the king, "I do not need all this, give them to those who deserve them".<sup>43</sup> Thus he freed himself from all obligations to the state and severed all links with the court. He became a recluse, and began to live in solitude, submitting himself to the Divine Will.<sup>44</sup> The king was impressed by his piety and austerity and requested him to come to the court.<sup>45</sup>

Makhdum Hamid the grandson of Makhdum Abdul Qadir was not favourably disposed towards court officials. At that time Bairam Khan, the *Vakil-ul Sultanate*, wielded great power and exercised the authority of a sovereign.<sup>46</sup> Badauni, discussing Makhdum Hamid's relations with the great minister says, "Bairam Khan, due to the sedition of some mischief mongers, chief among them was Shaikh Gada'i puffed up with pride and vanity (on account of his position and power at the court) summoned the Makhdum from Uch."<sup>47</sup> When the Shaikh came he was not welcomed by Bairam Khan and the disrespect shown to him and the insults heaped on him by the *vakil* became the cause of his ultimate ruin and downfall".<sup>48</sup> Shaikh Hamid returned to Multan, adopted a life of isolation and contentment.

Shaikh Abdul Qadir III did not care for government service but he accepted *Madad-i Ma'ash* grant. However, the relations between the Emperor and the Shaikh soon got strained. According to Badauni, the causes for the estrangement between the two were as follows:

- (1) One night, when in Emperor's presence poppy seeds (*koknar*) were offered to him, he refrained from it, and boldly declared that its use was unlawful. It displeased Akbar.<sup>49</sup>
- (2) One day in the *Diwan Khana* of Fatehpur Sikri, after saying his congregational prayers, Shaikh Abdul Qadir was offering his *nafl* (voluntary) prayers. Akbar asked him to say them at home, he replied, "My king, this is not your kingdom that you should pass orders". The Emperor was displeased, called the Shaikh ill mannered and ordered his banishment, saying, "You do not desire what my wealth can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom."<sup>50</sup> Thereupon Shaikh, who was a man of independent disposition immediately left the court, gave up his *madad-i ma'ash* grant and retired to Uch, the home of his ancestors.<sup>51</sup>

A descendant of Makhdum Abdul Qadir III named Shaikh Abdul Qadir Lahori was banished to *Makkah* by Akbar for unknown reasons.<sup>52</sup> Saiyid Niamatullah Shah Qadiri of Kashmir also avoided company of the ruling class.<sup>53</sup>

Shaikh Daud Jahniwal maintained an attitude of aloofness and indifference towards the State. The reasons were legal, political and religious. He avoided the company of the persons of high position. But on one occasion during the reign of Islam Shah (1545-52) in obedience to a royal summon sent through Makhdum-ul Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri, he came from Shergarh to Gwalior.<sup>54</sup> Once Akbar on his way to Pattan sent Shahbaz Khan and invited the sufi. He excused himself saying, "My prayers are sufficient for the king".<sup>55</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Haqq Dehlawi, witnessed the reigns of Islam Shah Sur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.<sup>56</sup> During Akbar's reign he never

visited the nobles and government officials. The reasons for this aloofness from the royal society were: (1) The way adopted by *Ulama-i Su* to dishonour the Islamic faith in Akbar's court, shocked *Ulama-i Haq*. (2) The relations with court interrupted the intellectual pursuits; academic and scholarly engagements were disrupted. (3) Being a man of independent disposition, Shaikh Abdul Haqq did not like flattery, as it is quite evident from his letter to Shaikh Farid. Such a man could never recite eulogy (*Qasida*) in court. He was friendly with only those nobles who never expected any special marks of courtesy from him. After Akbar's death, Shaikh Abdul Haqq, developed cordial relations with the court officials and imparted to them religious instructions. The sudden change in his attitude seems to be the result of the influence of Khwaja Baqi Billah, who believed in preaching to the inmates of huts and men of castle, both. His motto was, "it is better to influence rulers than to keep distance from them".<sup>57</sup>

In the fourteenth year of Jahangir's reign Shaikh Abdul Haqq visited the court. Jahangir has given a very vivid account of this meeting and praises the scholarly merits of the *sufi*. About *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* and its compiler, Jahangir writes, "I have seen his book, it contains the biographical sketches of *mashaikh*. It is the result of his hard labour and painstaking research. He is living a life of isolation, piety, resignation and reliance on God at Delhi for a long time. I sent him away with many favours".<sup>58</sup>

Jahangir was so impressed with the *Sufi*, that he presented him a village *Bokr Wala*<sup>59</sup> at first the Shaikh refused, but at the insistence of the Emperor, he accepted it. At the end of Jahangir's reign, their relations were embittered. The causes are not known. It is mentioned in *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, "At the time when Emperor Jahangir was in Kashmir, some people poisoned his ears against

Shaikh Abdul Haqq and Mirza Husammuddin” (a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi).<sup>60</sup>

Jahangir, summoned Shaikh Abdul Haqq and his family to Kashmir. His son Shaikh Nur-ul Haq was exiled to Kabul. Shaikh Abdul Haqq suffered a lot of trouble during his journey. In his way to Kashmir he stayed at Lahore, meet Mian Mir, and told him that in his old age, it was very difficult to leave he country and the children. Mian Mir tried to console him. He resumed his journey, but before Shaikh's arrival at Kashmir, Jahangir died and Shaikh Abdul Haqq with his son came back to Delhi.<sup>61</sup> It is mentioned in *Mirat-ul Haqa'iq*<sup>62</sup> that relations between Nurjahan and Shaikh Muhaddid's Dehlawi were far from being cordial. Probably she was responsible for all the afflictions of the Shaikh. It is said that once Nur Jahan summoned, him to court, Shaikh replied, "*Faqirs* have nothing to do with the kings and queens, but he himself, is prepared to perform any task, entrusted to him and ready to serve her".<sup>63</sup>

Sultan Bahu was held in high esteem by Aurangzeb, who paid him all possible attention, but for some unknown reason, the *sufi* never seems to have cared for the Emperor.<sup>64</sup> Unfortunately no contemporary authority provides any detail information regarding the relationship between the state and the *sufi*. Saiyid Taha Qutbuddin Qadiri also disdained to associate with the court. But Aurangzeb's *Wazir*, Jafar Khan was very devoted to the *sufi* and used to come to Kattana to see him. Aurangzeb was also desirous to meet him, but the *sufi* arrogantly remarked, "It is better for you not to come here".<sup>65</sup> But he allowed the common people to spend few hours with him.

Among the Qadiris there were many *sufi* who maintained friendly relations with the ruling authorities, but some times the same *sufi* had to adopt

different attitude towards different kings. Makhdum Muhammad Ghaus maintained cordial relations with the contemporary sultans. Babur's cousin Sultan Husain Mirza became his disciple.<sup>66</sup>

Shaikh Musa joined the imperial service and a new phase of his life began. He gave up the life of isolation and devotion to become a follower of the Emperor. He adopted the profession of arms, and became a commander of 500.<sup>67</sup> It is strange that Shaikh Abdul Haqq, who has extolled the Shaikh for his virtues, mentions nothing about this sudden change in his behaviour. Badauni is sarcastic about his worldliness and change of state, "as long as Shaikh Musa was in Emperor's service he would offer his obligatory prayers, whether in public or private (*Diwan-i Khas-O Am*), he would himself utter the call to prayer (*Azan*), and would then lead the congregational prayer in presence of the *Khalifa* of the age and none could open mouth against him."<sup>68</sup>

When Shaikh Abdul Qadir was informed about his brother's *mansab* at the court, he remarked, "He deserved the *mansab* of one thousand, why he did not enter the Imperial service earlier and received a *jagir* at Multan, instead of ceaselessly quarrelling with me".<sup>69</sup>

Akbar bestowed great favours upon Shaikh Ilah Bakhsh, brother of Abdul Qadir Lahori; appointed him the *sadr* of Gujarat<sup>70</sup> and sent him to Shahbaz Khan Kambu.<sup>71</sup> The Shaikh worked efficiently. He constantly sent reports of the activities of the rebels and information about administrative matters. He rendered remarkable services to the state. He was granted a *mansab* of 300 as a reward for his good services.<sup>72</sup>

Saiyid Ahmad Qadiri and his son Hidayatullah were men of liberal outlook. They were in good accord with the state. Akbar, in appreciation of his

moral virtues summoned Saiyid Ahmad and offered government service to him, the Saiyid gladly accepted the job. He was enrolled in the army and became chief adviser to the Emperor.<sup>73</sup> Muhammad Sadiq mentions that he rose to the post of *sadr*<sup>74</sup>, under Akbar and retained the same post under Jahangir.<sup>75</sup> In fact he was *sadr-us sudur* under Jahangir; in his *Tuzuk* he refers to Shaikh Ahmad as *sadr*.<sup>76</sup> During his *sadarat*, land grants were freely distributed among the deserving persons, which improved their financial conditions, Saiyid Ahmad's son Saiyid Hidayatullah Qadiri also acted as *sadr-us sudur* under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.<sup>77</sup>

Mian Mir's relations with Mughal rulers and princes were cordial and intimate. Contemporary writers give some anecdotes about Mian Mir and details of the relations.<sup>78</sup> Mian Mir advised the rulers to take keen interest in the welfare of the people and the administration of the kingdom. He considered kingship to be a sacred trust of God. He believed that bad habits of the king were bound to have an adverse effect on the tenor of administration and by establishing amicable relations with the rulers he could influence them not only to improve their morals but also the lot of people who were a trust of the creator. He believed that the reform of a ruler is the reform of the whole society. But he did not involve himself in the political activities of the kings. He remained merely a spiritual guide. Mian Mir personally did not visit the court officials and the men of materialistic outlook and rarely accepted any gifts and offerings presented by them. Despite this attitude of indifference and independence of mind the rulers, princes and nobles had special regard for him and flocked to his *khanqah* to seek his guidance and aid in their difficulties.<sup>79</sup>

Jahangir who liked the company of the men of retired disposition greatly benefited by his close contact with Mian Mir. He has acknowledged this fact in his memoirs. When Jahangir left Kashmir in 1620, he heard about the learning and piety of Mian Mir and felt a great desire to see him. Since he was outside the city and it was not possible for him to enter Lahore, he invited Mian Mir at his residence.

Jahangir writes in his *Tuzuk*<sup>80</sup> “As it was reported to me that in Lahore, one Shaikh Muhammad Mir, a Sindhi by origin, a very eloquent, virtuous, austere man, a lord of ecstasy had seated himself in the corner of reliance upon God and retirement, and was rich in his poverty and indifference of the world, my truth seeking mind was not at rest without meeting him and my desire to see him increased. As it was impossible to go to Lahore, I wrote a note to him and explained to him the desire of my heart and that *sufi* notwithstanding his great age and weakness took the trouble to come, I sat with him for a long time alone and enjoyed a through interview with him”. The main points of the conversation that took place between the Emperor and the *sufi* are recorded by Dara Shukoh.<sup>81</sup>

The Emperor said: “Whatever of the kingdom, glory, magnificence, wealth and jewels he possesses appears to him like stones and straw, if the *sufi* could turn his attention towards him, he would be free from all the worldly bondages”. Mian Mir remarked: “The perfect *sufi* is that in whose eyes there is no difference between jewels and stones and as Jahangir also considers jewels and stones of the same value and worth so he is (by this principle) also a *sufi*”. Jahangir was pleased by these remarks of the *sufi*. Mian Mir then said: “The need of king is for the preservation and protection of his subjects.”<sup>82</sup> It is

because of the security and peace which a ruler provides, the *faqirs* are occupied in their devotion, with contentment and satisfaction”.<sup>83</sup>

The Emperor earnestly requested Mian Mir to pray for him and accept him as his disciple. Mian Mir said, “that he could make him his disciple only if he was in a position to nominate a true substitute for the throne, who would be able to protect the people and take care of the well being of the creatures of God”. The Emperor was greatly pleased to hear this speech of Mian Mir and requested him to accept some gift from him. Mian Mir said, “Would you be prepared to give me whatever I ask of you, “Yes it would be granted”, rejoined the Emperor. The Mian Mir said, “My only desire is that your Majesty would give me the permission to depart.”<sup>84</sup> Thus after taking permission, the *sufi* returned to his home town. The impression left by this interview on the mind of Jahangir was very deep and the spiritual sanctity of the *sufi* influenced him so much that the Emperor extolled the virtues of Mian Mir in his memoirs:

“Truly he is the beloved of God, in sanctity and purity of soul he has no equal in this age. Although I desired to make him some gift, but as his spirit was too high for this, I did not express my wish. I contented myself with the presentation of the skin of a white antelope to pray upon, then he immediately bade me farewell and went back to Lahore”.<sup>85</sup> Jahangir corresponded with Mian Mir and sometimes sought spiritual guidance from him. Two of his letters are referred to in *Sakinat-ul Auliya*.<sup>86</sup> The letters show deep regard and esteem in which the Emperor held him. In one letter Jahangir expressed his desire to see the *sufi*, in another letter he requested the *sufi* to help him in spiritual matters and pray for the success of his arms in Qandahar campaign.<sup>87</sup>



Mian Mir who was well known for his knowledge and piety attracted the attention of Shahjahan, an intensely religious minded person and fond of the company of holy men. He twice visited Mian Mir seeking guidance and blessings. The vivid account of these visits is contained in contemporary sources.<sup>88</sup> According to Khafi Khan, “unlike other *faqirs* and *mashaikh* who would treat the Emperors and wealthy persons with great consideration and respect, the *sufi* paid no serious attention towards the Emperor and remained indifferent to him. This increased Emperor's regard for the *sufi* and he became very devoted to him.”<sup>89</sup> The interview was short. Lahori did not give whole account of this conversation. He only said, that, “he (Mian Mir) brought several points worth hearing on his eloquent tongue”.<sup>90</sup> Dara Shukoh has recorded the details of the first visit that took place in 1633. Mian Mir is said to have remarked: “A just king must take serious interest in the welfare of his subjects and the security of his kingdom, he must concentrate *his energies* on populating the new areas and increasing the prosperity of lands. If the subjects are prosperous and the country populous, the soldiers would become satisfied and the treasury will be full.”<sup>91</sup> The Emperor is reported to have said, he had not seen any dervish like Mian Mir in the qualities of spiritualism and learning. “Judged by all standards, writes Qazwini, “Mian Mir is a perfect *sufi* and famous not among the Shaikh of Punjab but throughout the Muslim world”.<sup>92</sup>

The next visit took place in 1634, when Shahjahan while returning from Kashmir to Delhi stopped at Lahore, and during his stay there, he visited several *sufi* including Mian Mir.<sup>93</sup> Though the *sufi* generally did not like the company of such persons of high stature, he treated the Emperor, well and expressed his pleasure at having him in his *khanqah*, and asked him to remain

with him for a longer period.<sup>94</sup> Shahjahan requested Mian Mir to pay attention towards him and illumine his heart so that he could renounce the earthly desires. Mian Mir replied that when the Emperor was engaged in making efforts for the prosperity and happiness of the people at that time he should pray for himself and could have no desire except the love of God.<sup>95</sup> A graphic description of this meeting is given in the court chronicles. On that day writes Lahori, “many obscure matters, intricate questions, and subtleties of the truth agreeable to the heart of the Emperor were discussed. Elegant conversation took place and large number of people benefited by these metaphorical discourses and thus, this auspicious meeting which lasted about half an hour came to an end.”<sup>96</sup> When Shaikh Muhammad Lahori, a disciple of Mian Mir, asked the *sufi* to comment on the meeting, Mian Mir said, “Kings were the most perfect embodiments of all God's attributes, their visits and conversation did not affect his spiritual pursuits as he remained engrossed in the work that he was doing.”<sup>97</sup> “As he was”, says Lahori “a man indifferent to the world, spoke but little, so his majesty considering him that he would not care for worldly things, presented him a rosary and a turban of white cloth and received his benedictions”.<sup>98</sup>

Shahjahan was very much influenced by the personality and spiritual attainments of Mian Mir, he often praised elegant manners of the *sufi*, a perfect *dervish* found in those days.<sup>99</sup> According to the Emperor, there were two eminent *sufis*; one Mian Mir and another Shaikh Muhammad Fazlullah of Burhanpur<sup>100</sup>, but he had a deep veneration and regard for the former, and used to say that in his whole life, he had never seen a person like Mian Mir who is surpassed others in renunciation, indifference and quietness of the world.<sup>101</sup>

Mian Mir's contemporary, Shah Balawal Qadiri, slightly differed in his attitude towards the state. Shahjahan visited him twice, once in 1633, again in the following year. On both the occasions he gave to the *sufi* an amount of Rs. 2,000 as *nazr*, which the latter accepted but distributed among the *faqirs* of his *khanqah*.<sup>102</sup> Mulla Khwaja, Behari, a disciple of Mian Mir was on friendly with Shahjahan and held discussions with him on mystic philosophy. The Emperor always admired the refined manners, intellectual attainment of Mulla Khwaja.<sup>103</sup> His Wazir Maulana Sa'adullah was also one among the devotees of the *sufi*.<sup>104</sup>

Mulla Shah, a disciple of Mian Mir was not involved in the political matters of the state, but kept close contact with Shahjahan, who held him in high esteem, and always admired spiritual gifts and scholarly attainments of the *sufi*. As he (the Emperor) once remarked, "In India there were two Shah's. Shahjahan the esoteric (*suri*) and Mulla Shah the real (*manawi*) king."<sup>105</sup> The latter also entertained the feelings of affection and regard for Shahjahan and paid several visits to the royal court. Shahjahan's correspondence with Mulla Shah was quite frequent. It is interesting to note that the accession of Shahjahan to the imperial throne and attainment of spiritual perfection by Mulla Shah synchronized in the same year (1628). Mulla Shah composed the following couplet on the occasion and sent it to the Emperor:

We two, Shahjahan and myself king and the *Dervish*,  
 Occupied two thrones of Guidance on the same day.  
 He sat on the throne of world kingship:  
 I on the throne of spiritual kingship.<sup>106</sup>

Shahjahan reciprocated this friendly gesture by paying visits to the *sufi* in Kashmir and later in Lahore also. These visits and meetings between the *sufi* and the Emperor are reported by contemporary historians including Mulla

Shah's biographer Tawakkul Beg.<sup>107</sup> Shahjahan first visited Mulla Shah's residence in 1634 when he was in Kashmir.

It was on the occasion when owing to growing popularity of Mulla Shah, a section of orthodox ulama had turned hostile to him. They suspected him of heresy and deviation from religion on account of some of his poetical compositions on the theme, *Tauhid*. What provoked them to indignation and fury was the following verse of Mulla Shah, which they produced as an evidence of his apostasy:

tr. I am hand in hand with God,  
Why should I care for Mustafa<sup>108</sup>

The *ulama* went so far as to denounce him as an apostate and planned to expose his alleged heresy by engaging him in a public controversy. A *mahzar* was signed by the leading *ulama*: Mulla Fazil Mir-i Adl, Qazi Aslam and Mirak Shaikh pronouncing death sentence on Mulla Shah.<sup>109</sup> Other *muftis* and *mullas* also confirmed this judgement by putting their seals on the decree which was sent to the Emperor, who accepted it reluctantly<sup>110</sup>, but these moves were frustrated by Dara Shukoh's intervention who suggested to Shahjahan to consult Mian Mir in the matter. The Emperor conceded Dara Shukoh's request and the judgement passed by the *ulama* against Mulla Shah was deferred. The tension of a civil discord thus caused by the protest of orthodox *ulama* eventually subsided and normalcy returned to society.

Accompanied by Dara Shukoh, Shahjahan met Mian Mir at Lahore in 1634 to make enquiries about the personal beliefs of Mulla Shah.<sup>111</sup> Mian Mir expressed his great admiration for the spiritual gifts of Mulla Shah and said that Mulla Shah was a *majzub* whose utterances made in a state of ecstasy (*wajd*)

had no real meaning and should not be interpreted literally. Mian Mir also asked Shahjahan to punish those conservative theologians (*ahl-i zahir*) who had made false accusation against such an innocent *dervish*.<sup>112</sup> Later on in a letter to Shahjahan, Mian Mir declared that the *mahzar*, issued by a section of the *ulama* was illegal.<sup>113</sup>

In the same year Shahjahan went to Kashmir where he made it a point to visit Mulla Shah. At their meeting the Emperor enquired of him about the verse, which had provoked the orthodox theologians. In reply Mulla Shah did not deny that he had composed the verse to which certain *ulama* had taken exception. He was, however, able to give a satisfactory explanation which entirely pacified the Emperor<sup>114</sup>, and the dust of doubt was removed from his heart and his devotion to the *sufi* increased. As a consequences of this meeting, the Emperor came to have a very high opinion about the piety of the *sufi* and whenever he went to Kashmir he visited Mulla Shah. A later authority informs us that it was the practice of Mulla Shah that whenever he heard of the arrival of the Emperor, he would take his walking stick and start walking and at the time of Emperor's departure he would again stand with the Emperor and start walking.<sup>115</sup> Thus he was saved from standing especially for the Emperor and tried in this way to avoid court formalities and its etiquette.

In his next visit to Kashmir in 1639 AD, Shahjahan invited Mulla Shah to his camp at Zafar Bagh, where the following interesting conversation took place which is recorded by Tawakkul Beg,<sup>116</sup> Shahjahan, "I want to hear from you about *Haqiqat* (truth or Reality) and *Marifat* (knowledge of Divine matters or gnosticism). Mulla Shah, "Day and night you have your business with the worldly minded, you are far away from spiritual matters there is no use for you

of this knowledge. Shahjahan: "Though I always devoted myself to esoteric and ritual sciences, still, I have an intense desire to acquire speculative knowledge so I have come to you". Mulla Shah, "I shall reply to what you enquire from me. Shahjahan, asked him the meanings of the terms *Ilm-ul yaqin*,<sup>117</sup> *Ain-ul yaqin*,<sup>118</sup> and *Haqq-ul yaqin*.<sup>119</sup>

Mulla Shah: "Suppose, I came to know that in India there is a king named Shahjahan, whose orders are followed in Punjab, Bengal and the Deccan, though I have not seen him yet I know this, this is *Ilm-ul Yaqin* (certainty of mind). Then my eyes fell upon you, I believed that I have recognized you that you are the same person about whom I heard. This is *Ain-ul yaqin* (certainty of sight). *Haqq-ul Yaqin* (a conviction of truth) is the fact that I am in your presence.<sup>120</sup> After this conversation Mulla Shah departed. Lahori also mentions one such visit in which according to him many subtle subjects were discussed.<sup>121</sup> All these meetings were held during the course of one year (1639) when Shahjahan had come to Kashmir accompanied by Dara Shukoh and Jahan Ara. At this time both Dara Shukoh and Jahan Ara joined the circle of the disciples of Mulla Shah.<sup>122</sup>

Shahjahan went to Kashmir again in 1644, on this occasion as well he sought an interview with Mulla Shah. A graphic description of this meeting and of the discussion that took place between the two is recorded in *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*: Both of us, Shahjahan told Mulla Shah, are the slaves of God and we desire none except God. Mulla Shah replied: "It is true but there is a difference between slave and slave though God is oblivious to the need of our services, but you have appointed deputies (*khalifas*) for your outward services (to administer your kingdom) and you spend only a few minutes in His *zikr*,

while I show the people the way to Lord, and guide them up to the highest stage of Divinity where they reach by renouncing all worldly and material bonds". In this meeting Mulla Shah explained many aspects of mystic experience in a way that highly appealed to Shahjahan's heart who presented the *sufi* a simple but well executed cushion (*muttaka*) and said that his revered grandfather Humayun used to sit upon it. The Emperor remarked further, "I know you do not need any worldly gifts either in cash or kind, hence I dared not offer you anything, I consider this cushion to be a suitable gift for you". Mulla Shah accepted it and bade the Emperor fare-well.<sup>123</sup>

In the same year, on the occasion of the weighing ceremony of Shahjahan at Srinagar, a grand procession was organized. Mulla Shah composed a *rubai* for the occasion and sent it with his congratulations to the Emperor.<sup>124</sup> Tawakkul Beg has given the description of the visit of Mulla Shah to the imperial residence at Lahore in 1647. According to him on that occasion, the *sufi* talked to the Emperor about half an hour. The main theme of their conversation was again religious.<sup>125</sup> Another meeting between Mulla Shah and Shahjahan took place in Kashmir during the year 1651, when the latter came to Kashmir to see the mosque and the *khanqah*, built there by his daughter Jahan Ara for Mulla Shah. The Emperor was delighted to see the mosque<sup>126</sup>, and from there went to Mulla Shah's house and sat there like a common man on a *borya*. No one except Sa'adullah Khan accompanied Shahjahan at this occasion. The Emperor spent *yak-pas* (half an hour) in the philosophical discussions with Mulla Shah.<sup>127</sup> At his request, Mulla Shah recited some of his *rubais* (quatrain). At the time of sunset the emperor departed. This was Shahjahan's last journey to Kashmir and also his last meeting with Mulla Shah.

Besides these visits, Shahjahan and Mulla Shah remained in touch with each other through frequent exchange of letters. The text of these letters are reproduced by Tawakkul Beg.<sup>128</sup> One such letter of Shahjahan written in 1643 refers to Jahan Ara having been badly burnt (while trying to save the life of one of her maid servants), Shahjahan at this time was greatly concerned on account of injuries Jahan Ara had received. He wrote to Mulla Shah, "The superficial physicians have failed in their efforts to cure her. Now I appeal to the real physician to pray for her recovery and hope that through your grace she will soon be well". Mulla Shah wrote in reply, "God is known for His two attributes *jamal* (beauty) and *jalal* (majesty), these are the days of *jalal*. Very shortly they will turn into days of *Jamal* because on every side there are prayers for her health. According to Tawakkul Beg this letter of Shahjahan was dispatched from Agra.<sup>129</sup>

Another letter of Shahjahan to Mulla Shah dates back to 1645 when Shahjahan was at Kabul from where he was then monitoring the progress of the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshan. This is brought out from the contents of the letter where he says. "Through God's favour, we have turned our attention towards Transoxus and request Mulla Shah to pray for the success of the imperial armies". Mulla Shah replied, "all comes from the unseen world from that world illuminating sun". Reciting a Qur'anic Verse<sup>130</sup>, the *sufi* prophesied victory of the royal forces and conveyed his congratulation to Shahjahan over his expected success. Mulla Shah received another letter from Shahjahan, which was sent from Kabul in 1646. Its text runs as follows: "Mulla Shah should know that prayers offered by the pious are approved by God. Abdul Aziz, the son of Nazar Muhammad with a fifty thousand strong force has made



an advance, prince Aurangzeb commands the royal forces. First we shall take Balkh and Badakhshan then (will conquer) our ancestral lands, Samarqand and Bukhara and from there the victorious armies, will return to Balkh and Nazar Muhammad will be imprisoned inside one of these forts. Thus within a week the enemy will be defeated and repulsed with a thousand of insults”.<sup>131</sup> Mulla Shah wrote in reply, “The heart of a man is an emblem of God, He is within every human soul and nearer to man than his jugular vein. But the people are ignorant, they spend their days and nights in the pleasures of this transitory and material world whosoever prays to God with concentration of mind and presence of heart his prayers would be granted”. Shahjahan was victorious and returned to Delhi.<sup>132</sup>

Another letter of Shahjahan, written from Sirhind (dated A.D. 1646) was conveyed through Mahabat Khan, who also brought a fur garment (*Postin-i Samur*) as a present for Mulla Shah. The extracts of this letter are quoted in *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*<sup>133</sup> Shahjahan writes: “The news of your arrival at Lahore (from Kashmir) made me glad. *Bagh-i Faiz Bakhsh* and *Farah Bakhsh* of Lahore are superior to all the gardens of Kashmir. I request you to spend the summer in the pleasant climate of these gardens”. Mulla Shah immediately wrote back, “It is your kindness that in spite of your official preoccupations you always remember this *faqir*. As you consider those gardens better for summer and invite me to meditate there, verily, I accept your invitation.”<sup>134</sup> In a letter written in the same year from Kabul, Shahjahan informs Mulla Shah that he has appointed his two disciples, Muhammad Salim and Husain Beg Khan as the Bakhshi and Governor of Kashmir respectively at the request of Dara Shukoh and they have been ordered to treat him with great respect.<sup>135</sup>

There is further evidence indicating that Shahjahan showed respect and favoured not only to Mulla Shah and his disciples but his brothers and other relatives were also treated generously by him. This is suggested by his letter to Mulla Shah sent from Kabul in 1649. At that time the two brothers of Mulla Shah, Mulla Muhammad Beg and Mulla Sultan along with their families, escaping from the Uzbek oppression in central Asia, took shelter in Kabul. Shahjahan not only welcomed them warmly but also provided them all the facilities and material help, so as to enable them to live at Kabul in comfort. When they expressed a wish to go to Kashmir and stay there with Mulla Shah, the Emperor allowed them to proceed thither. He gave them a letter addressed to Mulla Shah. The contents of that letter are as follows: "Mulla Shah should know that his brothers and relatives have arrived in this country (Kabul). If they want to stay here they are allowed to do so. If Kashmir suites them they are permitted to stay there also. Two months have elapsed, since our armies besieged Qandhar, I hope we shall be victorious."<sup>136</sup>

We have the evidence of one more letter of Shahjahan, written in 1656, inviting Mulla Shah to Shahjahanabad. In reply to this proposal Mulla Shah politely expressed his disinclination to come to Shahjahanabad on account of his poor health, which did not permit the long journey from Lahore to Delhi.<sup>137</sup> As far as I know this was the last letter of Shahjahan that he addressed to Mulla Shah. Subsequent correspondence was interrupted due to circumstances that are well known. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, our main source for this correspondence, avoids mentioning the political events of the year 1657-58, which included the imprisonment of Shahjahan and other unhappy events that followed the Battle of Samugarh.

It emerges from the above discussion that throughout Shahjahan's reign Mulla Shah's relations with the Mughal court were cordial but after Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, these friendly relations became sour. Perhaps Mulla Shah's past association with Dara Shukoh was the main reason for Aurangzeb's hostility towards him, on the other hand it would appear, that Mulla Shah's alienations from Aurangzeb had an ideological dimension as well. He apparently disapproved Aurangzeb's fanatical zeal in religious matters, and particularly took exception to his presuming to sit in judgement on the beliefs and practices of men of mystic inclinations. In this connection it is also worth noting that despite Aurangzeb's religious outlook, many senior nobles, like Tarbiyat Khan, Ali Mardan Khan, Zafar Khan, Muqarrab Khan, Husain Beg Khan, Khalilullah Khan, Jaffar Khan, Sa'adullah Khan and Abul Fath Qabil Khan continued to have close contacts with him and paid him frequent visits. Some of them counted themselves among Mulla Shah's disciples.<sup>138</sup>

### **Shattaris**

Shaikh Phul, the elder brother of Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus, was the *khalifa* of Shah Zahur Haji. He was a rich saint and passed his days in affluent circumstances. He possessed, says Ghausi, both spiritual and material wealth.<sup>139</sup> He had very close contact with Humayun. Jahangir writes : "Humayun had great affection for him, and the most perfect reliance on him".<sup>140</sup>

The author of *Iqbalnama* says that he was one of the closest associates<sup>141</sup> of Humayun. Humayun showered 'royal favours' on him.<sup>142</sup> The Emperor's respect for him enhanced immensely his prestige among the people. Many scholars of the court, like Maulana Jamaluddin and Maulana Muhammad

‘Ali Farghuli’<sup>143</sup>, joined his order, probably more out of expediency than out of conviction.

Humayun was a keen student of astronomy. Shaikh Phul was an expert in the science. Common interests and hobbies brought them together. Badauni says that Humayun learnt the science of exorcism from shaikh Phul and shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.<sup>144</sup> The same historian further remarks that the emperor’s attachment to them was without examples.<sup>145</sup>

Shaikh Phul lived with the Emperor, joined him in his expeditions and was ready to exercise his influence in favour of the ruler whenever he stood in need of it. In 1538 AD, when Humayun was in Bengal, Mirza Hindal thought of a *coup d’etat* to usurp the throne of Agra. Humayun sent Shaikh Phul to dissuade the prince from this. Shaikh Phul left Bengal and reached Agra where he was warmly received by the Mirza. The Shaikh’s advice was at first accepted by him and he promised to act with one accord in extirpating the Afghans; but soon afterwards the nobles prevailed upon him to make a bid for the throne of Agra. Nuruddin Muhammad seized the shaikh and by Hindal’s orders the Shaikh was beheaded in a sandy spot near the royal garden.<sup>146</sup> The Shaikh was held in high esteem by the ladies of the harem. When Hindal’s mother heard about the heinous murder, she wore blue cloth over her breast and when Hindal came to her, she said: ‘You have killed the Shaikh’ why do you delay about me!”

Muhammad Bakhshi got hold of the Shaikh’s corpse, carried it to Bayana and buried it there.<sup>147</sup> Jahangir speaks about these two brothers with

sincere respect and regard.<sup>148</sup> It is indeed surprising that Abul Fazl speaks about them in most disparaging terms. He writes :

“Though these two brothers were void of excellencies or learning, they at various times lived in mountain hermitages and practised incantation with the Divine Names. They made these the proofs of their renown and credibility, and obtaining, by help of simpletons, the society of princes and *amirs*, they put sainthood to sale and acquired lands and villages by fraud. His elder brother (Shaikh Phul) was in the service of *Jannat Ashiani*, and as the latter was inclined towards magic he held the shaikh in reverence. The Shaikh (Phul) also privately and when in the company of simple ones used to boast of his having relations with H.M. Jahanbani of devotion and teachership”.<sup>149</sup>

Humayun also had deep respect and profound regard for Shaikh Phul and Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Shaikh Phul had died performing the dangerous duties of a plenipotentiary. Humayun's attachment to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus naturally increased after the cold-blooded murder of his brother.

When Sher Shah ousted Humayun and political power passed from the Mughals to the Afghans, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus acted with great political farsightedness and went away to Gujrat.<sup>150</sup> Abul Fazl suggests that it was simply fear that drove the Shaikh to Gujrat.<sup>151</sup> On the contrary Badauni definitely says: “As Sher Shah began to give Shaikh Muhammad trouble, he left for Gujrat”<sup>152</sup>. Whatever be the reasons, the Shaikh was well known for his pro-Mughal leanings and in quitting Delhi for Gujrat after Humayun's debacle, he displayed great political adroitness and wisdom.

The Shaikh's attachment to Humayun was too deep to be broken by his forced separation from the unfortunate ruler. Humayun too did not forget the shaikh. He wrote the following letter to him :

“After due respects I submit, thanks to the kindness of God and the efficacy of your prayers and those of other saints, I easily came out of unfortunate difficulties. Nothing that happened in these unfortunate circumstances brought depression upon my heart except the fact that I was deprived of your society and on every step and at every moment I had a fear as to how demon-like people will behave with you, an angle-like personality. When I heard that you too have left for Gujrat, my heart was relieved to some extent of that fear. I sincerely and earnestly hope that God will relieve me of the present miseries also and we shall meet again”.

“I cannot adequately thank God, the real Guide. Inspite of the fact that calamities have tied down my physical body on all sides, my heart is, nevertheless, cool and collected and undisturbed as before. Messages of welfare should be regularly exchanged”.<sup>153</sup>

The Shaikh replied :

“Thanks for your royal letter. I conveyed to your well wishers here the happy news of your life and safety. I came to know also about the welfare of your servants and attendants. Whatever you have jotted down, it is exactly like this. There is no formality about it”.

Words that come out from heart, go direct to heart.

I pray to God that unfortunate circumstances may not trouble your heart!

“Whenever God wishes to make perfect any of his dutiful creatures. He makes him pass alternately through periods of happiness and trouble. Now-a-days there is the period of hardship. Shortly afterwards there will be happiness”. God says:

‘Verily there is ease with hardship’.

According to the Arabic grammar ‘Hardship’ is between two periods of happiness.

On the restoration of Mughal power, the Shaikh came to Agra with his family and disciples and presented himself at the court, where he was received

with honour.<sup>154</sup> Badauni saw him in 966 AH/1558 AD in the capital. The Shaikh had arrived that every year from Gujrat.

“I saw him”, says Badauni, “from far off, riding along in the market place at Agra, a throng of the common people surrounding and preceding him, so that none could pass through the crowd. In his courteous humility his head was never for one moment still, as he returned the salutations of the people on either side of him, bowing continually down to his saddle-bow”.<sup>155</sup> But the Shaikh could not live in peace at Agra. New parties and groups had come to the forefront and no adjustment with them was possible. Akbar had received Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus with honour.<sup>156</sup> Shaikh Gadai became jealous<sup>157</sup> of the honourable guest whose record of services to the Mughal state went back to the days of Babar and Humayun.<sup>158</sup>

Sometime afterwards, Akbar happened to go to Gwalior for hunting. Some deer keepers told the Emperor that Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus had brought excellent bullocks from Gujrat. The Emperor was further informed that if he would pass by that locality the Shaikh would certainly<sup>159</sup> present them to him. “So”, says Abul Fazl, “with the ostensible object of procuring the animals, but in reality to test the Shaikh’s urbanity, he went to his Khanqah”. The Shaikh warmly received the royal guest and presented the cattle with other gifts. At the end of the interview, the shaikh asked Akbar if he had become the disciple of anyone. On Akbar’s denial, the Shaikh put out his arm and holding the hand of Akbar said: ‘We have taken your hand’. Both Abu’l Fazl and Badauni are unanimous in observing that Akbar did not take all this seriously.<sup>160</sup>

Abu'l Fazl says that Akbar often used to relate in his high assemblages:

“On the same night we returned to our tents and had a wine party and enjoyed ourselves; and laughed over the trick of getting the bullocks and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm”.

(Under their variegated robes they have nooses,  
See the long arms of these short-sleeved ones).<sup>161</sup>

Abu'l Fazl speaks about Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus in most derogatory terms.<sup>162</sup> He calls him “boastful simpleton”<sup>163</sup>, and makes every possible effort to convince the reader that the Emperor had no genuine or sincere attachment to the Shaikh. We are not due to the silence of the *Shattari* writers and the brief accounts of the court chroniclers, in a position to analyse the reasons for Akbar's indifference and Abul Fazl's bitterness towards the Shaikh. The Shaikh had supported the Mughal rulers from the earliest times. He had so completely identified himself with the Mughals that he had to suffer great hardships during the Sur interregnum. Besides, the Shaikh was a man who could be of great help to Akbar in implementing his policy of *sulh-i kul* (peace with all). The Shaikh was respected by the Hindus and the Musalmans alike. He was a keen student of Hindu religious thought and was of superbly tolerant and catholic views.

The Shaikh's influence over the nobles, *jagirdars* and officials, was doubtless immense. Fattu<sup>164</sup> (Fateh Khan Masnad-i Ali) who was in possession of the fort of Chunar sent word to the Emperor that if Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus were to take him by the hand and bring to the Emperor's presence, he would deliver the fort. Akbar sent the Shaikh, who was at that time an old man of eighty, to bring Fattu Khan to the court.<sup>165</sup> This was the last act of the Shaikh's service to the State. He died soon afterwards in 1563 A.D.



After the Afghan Sher Shah acceded to the throne in Agra in May 1540, he could not ignore the arch supporter of the Mughals. Ghaus therefore fled to Gujarat, where Humayun remained in touch with him, a letter written by the Emperor to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. After Akbar's accession to the throne Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus left Gujarat and returned to Gwalior and then visited the Emperor's court at Delhi. In 1558-59 Badauni saw the Shaikh riding through the market place in Agra.

### **Naqshbandis**

As mentioned earlier, the dawn of the seventeenth century witnessed the advent of the Naqshbandi Silsilah as well. Its saints exerted so great an influence upon the socio-political life of the period that it seemed as if the Naqshbandi order would supersede the rest of the sufi orders in India.<sup>166</sup> The founder of the Silsilah in India Khwaja Baqi Billah settled down in Delhi, at a time when the policies of Emperor Akbar had created an environment of distress and sorrow among the Muslims of India. The laws of Islam had been suppressed and Muslims could not openly fulfil their religious conventions.<sup>167</sup> Hence, the Khwaja preached the importance of spiritual values in man's life and revived people's interest in *Shariat*. Like his spiritual predecessors, especially Khwaja Obaidullah Ahrar, Baqi Billah believed in maintaining cordial relations with the ruling class in order to religiously and morally reform the Muslim society and to remove the people's difficulties.<sup>168</sup> His piety and spirituality drew towards him many important personalities of Akbar's court. As all contemporary sources are silent and give no information, it is difficult to say whether Khwaja Baqi Billah ever came into contact with Emperor Akbar. But according to *Zubdat al-Maqamat* he had friendly relations and did correspond with some of the Mughal nobles.<sup>169</sup>

Nawab Saiyid Murtuza khan, also known as Shaikh Farid Bukhari (ob. 1616), an eminent Mughal noble, was highly impressed by Khwaja Baqi Billah. He held the saint in high esteem and provided him with all sorts of help. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram is of the opinion that the Khwaja's mission would not have secured great success in India within a short period of four or five years if Shaikh Farid had not cooperated with him.<sup>170</sup> He seems to have frequently visited Baqi Billah at Delhi and obtained his spiritual blessings.<sup>171</sup> It is reported that he had fixed daily allowances for the followers of the saint and bore all the expenses of his *Khanqah*.<sup>172</sup>

The Khwaja too paid respect to Shaikh Farid Bukhari and considered him his fast friend. He would say to his followers that Shaikh Farid had many rights on them and due to his grace and existence, they had enjoyed great spiritual benefits and pleasures.<sup>173</sup> The collection of his letters contains several letters addressed to Shaikh Farid. It appears that he always addressed Shaikh Farid in his letters as *Qiblagahi Salamat Bashand* means 'his majesty be prosper'.<sup>174</sup>

The Khwaja never liked Shaikh Farid to be criticised by anyone. If anybody made objection on their friendship, he would reply that he did not find any injunction of *Shariate* to disconnect his relations with Shaikh Farid.<sup>175</sup> The latter continued his favours and kindness even after the death of the saint and did not break his relations with the Khwaja's sons and followers. He took care of and often visited them to know and solve their problems.<sup>176</sup> He had cordial relations with Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi<sup>177</sup> and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.<sup>178</sup> The latter in many of his *Maktubat* has acknowledged Shaikh Farid Bukhari's help and cooperation for his spiritual mentor. In all his letters to

Shaikh Farid, Sirhindi seems to be highly thankful to him for his sympathetic behaviour towards Khwaja Baqi Billah.<sup>179</sup>

Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan, another eminent noble of Emperor Akbar, was also influenced by Khwaja Baqi Billah. According to *Zubdat al-Maqamat*, once he was informed that the khwaja was intending to go for Hajj, he accordingly sent rupees one lakh for travelling expenses but the saint refused to accept it, saying that he did not like to spend the money collected from the people for his own purpose.<sup>180</sup>

Moreover, some other outstanding personalities of the Mughal court are also reported to have become followers of the Khwaja Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka and *Sadr-us Sudur* Miran Sadr-i Jahan had close contacts with him. The latter approached and requested the saint for initiating him into his mystic discipline. It appears that the Khwaja had accepted him as his *murid*.<sup>181</sup> The *Zubdat al-Maqamat* contains a letter of Khwaja Baqi Billah which reveals that Miran Sadr-i Jahan consulted the saint in the matter of distribution of land grants and charity in cash.<sup>182</sup> The Khwaja wrote letters to Mirza Aziz Koka and exhorted him for adherence to Shariat. An epistle of the saint recommends some annual grant to be given to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi as well.<sup>183</sup>

Khwaja Baqi Billah's chief *khalifa* Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi also was extremely dissatisfied with the religious policy of Akbar. He could not keep himself aloof from the affairs of the state. He considered politics inseparable from the religion. Like his Central Asian Naqshbandi predecessors, he was of the view that the ruler, in relation to his subjects, is like the heart in relation to the body. If the heart is healthy, the body is healthy, and if the heart is sick, the body too is sick. The rectitude of the people depends upon the rectitude of the

ruler, and his corruption amounts to the corruption of the people.<sup>184</sup> He, therefore, maintained relations with several eminent nobles of Akbar's court. He was of the view that nobles by exerting their influence could easily persuade the Emperor to follow the laws of Islam, i.e. the *Sharah*.<sup>185</sup> The collection of the letters of the saint, the *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, contains many letters addressed to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan, Mirza Aziz Koka, Miran Sadr-i Jahan etc. According to the famous scholar Shaikh Muhammad Ikram these letters of the saint played the role of candle in creating soft corner for Islam and Muslims in these nobles heart.<sup>186</sup> He, therefore, started preaching Islam through nobles and grandees of the court as he considered that the best way for persuading the Emperor to the *Shariah*. He firmly knew if these noble become perfect in beliefs and practices, they could easily advocate the cause of Islam before the Emperor. He recalled that what had been forgotten and brought home the significance of the Islamic regulations. His letters be moan the sad state into which Islam had fallen in India during Akbar's reign. Infact a deep study of the situation at time, tells us these nobles really succeeded in persuading Akbar to turn to Islam during the last years of his life. According to K.A. Nizami: "No serious student of history can evade the conclusion in the later years of Akbar's reign, under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, a definite ideological cleavage had developed between Akbar and his nobles".<sup>187</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi showed much interest in Jahangir's accession to the throne<sup>188</sup>, but personal contacts started somewhat late. In the beginning the relations between them were not very cordial. Jahangir had been annoyed by the Shaikh's condemnation of his father's religious policy.<sup>189</sup>

It was in 1028 AH/ 1619 AD, when Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani, in his process of organizing the Naqshbandi order in India and abroad, deputed one of his followers Maulana Badiuddin, as his representative in Agra. Sources say Badiuddin achieved remarkable success in a short span of time. A large number of soldiers and officials are also reported to have joined the circle of the Shaikh through the mediation of Badiuddin.<sup>190</sup> But the opponents of the saint poisoned Jahangir's ears by saying that the activities of the Shaikh and his Khalifa could lead to political disturbance.<sup>191</sup> These people also brought to Jahangir's notice a letter written by Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani<sup>192</sup>, to his spiritual mentor Khwaja Baqi Billah<sup>193</sup> ten years earlier. Shaikh Ahmad had described his spiritual experience in this letter. But his opponents at the Mughal court explained to Jahangir that the Shaikh had claimed to be superior to the first Pious Caliph, Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique (held by Muslims as Afzal-il Bashar Ba'd Al-Ambiya the most spiritually distinguished and the most excellent of the human beings after the chain of prophets of God). This annoyed the emperor and Sirhindi was summoned to the royal court in Agra to explain.<sup>194</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad defended himself by saying that his status was not above the first Pious Caliph. It is what happened in the course of his spiritual journey for a moment and was actually meant to show him the most elevated spiritual station occupied by Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique after the Prophet of Islam. Illustrating his point, the Shaikh further explained, addressing Jahangir, 'If you, in your royal court, summon some inferior servant of yours in the presence of all your courtiers to speak to him, he will have to reach you by passing through all of the high and superior nobles, and momentarily he will be nearer to you than your great nobles. But that does not mean that he (the servant) is greater than them or permanently occupies a place in closer proximity to you'.<sup>195</sup> This was a

fair enough and reasonable argument but since Shaikh Ahmad had not made the customary, obeisance to Jahangir, the latter regarded him as arrogant. When commended to observe the usual court etiquette by performing *sijda-i tazimi* (prostrating in respect), according to *Hazarat-ul Quds*, the Shaikh replied, 'I have never bowed my head to any of God's creatures and I never will'.<sup>196</sup> As was expected, the Shaikh's reply once again incurred the wrath of Jahangir. He ordered to a Rajput official, Ani Rai Singh Dalan, to imprison the Shaikh in Gwalior fort.<sup>197</sup>

Jahangir's memoirs bear evidence that subsequently the emperor changed his mind about Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and ordered his release after a year in 1620 AD. On the latter's arrival at the court in Agra, Jahangir honoured him by giving him a robe and a present of a thousand rupees. Jahangir writes in his *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, 'I summoned Shaikh Ahmad who had been in prison for some time ... I released him, giving him a robe and one thousand rupees. I also authorized him either to go home or to remain with me. And he expressed his desire to remain in my service'.<sup>198</sup> Contemporary and later sources say that the Shaikh remained in the royal camp for three years. Wherever the royal army and the emperor encamped, Shaikh Ahmad accompanied them. In the course of this time he visited several cities and towns in northern India.<sup>199</sup>

The great Emperor Abul Muzaffar Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, on his departure from Kashmir, fell seriously ill. Physicians treated him but he did not recover. His personal and private servants advised him to turn to pious people. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, who was accompanying the royal caravan, was therefore approached for spiritual benedictions. He went to the royal palace and invoked God for the Emperor's recovery and good health. The Shaikh also

exhorted Jahangir to popularize Islamic teachings. The latter said to the Shaikh, 'It is for you to say, and it is for me to do'. The Emperor recovered in the same night. Subsequently the royal army left for Sirhind. While encamped at Sirhind the Emperor desired to have his meal at the Shaikh's residence. The saint next day sent him a variety of dishes prepared in his house. It is said that all the items were so delicious that Jahangir took only half of it and saved the rest for the next day. It was during Jahangir's stay in Sirhind that he asked Asaf Khan to request Shaikh Ahmad to accept an annual or monthly grant, either in cash or in kind, for the expenses of his *khanqah*. But the Shaikh declined.<sup>200</sup>

It appears that the Shaikh could not stay with his family members, disciples and *khalifas* in Sirhind for long as the royal caravan left for another destination. Afterwards he seems to have reached Delhi and then Agra. His presence in the royal camp provided him with frequent meetings with the emperor. He never missed an opportunity to persuade Jahangir to follow Islam and the *Shariah*. Once he wrote to his son Muhammad Masum from the royal camp. "Thanks to God that everything is all right here. I am keeping good company with the Emperor. By Divine Grace, I do not lose a single moment without describing the theological points and the principles of Islam to him (Jahangir). If I start to write only about one meeting, it would require a whole volume, especially the conversation of this night, the 17th of Ramazan. Many points were discussed such as the creation of the prophets, the faith in hereafter, the concept of reward and punishment, the Divine Appearance, the seal of the prophecy of the last of the prophets (the Prophet of Islam), the *mujaddid* of every century, the following (*taqlid*) of the Pious Caliphs, the lawfulness of *tarawih*, the falsehood of the concept of transmigration, *jinns* and their affairs etc. The Emperor listens to me with full attention. In this

connection the *aqtab*, the *abdal*, the *autad* and their affairs of spirituality were also explained. Thanks to God that the Emperor completely participated in the discussion. I am thankful to God who guided me to do so. Undoubtedly our Holy Prophet came to this world with Truth".<sup>201</sup>

In 1620 Jahangir sent an expedition to Kangra under the command of Sundar Das *alias* Raja Bikramajit.<sup>202</sup> The author of *Hazrat-ul Quds* says that when Bikramajit was ordered to lead the expedition he approached the Shaikh in all humility and requested his blessings: Finding him persistent in his request, the Shaikh meditated for a while and said, 'Victory is certainly yours, you need not worry, go without any fear'. Bikramajit departed and without much difficulty conquered the fort. When Jahangir visited Kangra, the Shaikh also accompanied him.<sup>203</sup>

The third volume of the letters of the Shaikh, the *Maktubat-Imam-i Rabbani*, contains an epistle addressed to Jahangir. The concluding remarks of this letter are, 'Though this humble person does not find himself capable to be counted in the *lashkar-i dua* (the group of saints), he is not at all free from invoking God's blessings for you. He regards himself as one of the well-wishers of your Empire and prays for your prosperity'.<sup>204</sup> Any how, the Shaikh continued his sojourns to different places along with the royal army.<sup>205</sup> Finally, they encamped in Ajmer where he seems to have stayed for several months.<sup>206</sup> It was in 1623, that, on account of his failing health, the Shaikh, along with his sons Khwaja Muhammad Said and Khwaja Muhammad Masum left for Sirhind. He died therein 1034 AH/ 1624 AD.<sup>207</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi was a leading religious scholar during Jahangir's reign.<sup>208</sup> The latter's association with him started when the



Shaikh, on the occasion of Jahangir's accession to the throne, his requested friend Shaikh Farid Bukhari<sup>209</sup>, to place a letter before Jahangir imploring the Emperor to understand the need to implement the *Shariah* and show respect to the *Sunnah*.<sup>210</sup> This letter refused Jahangir, the fortunate successor of Akbar and wished that the new emperor maintain peace, ensure justice, and exert himself to create conditions for the welfare and prosperity of his subjects.

As the Shaikh had closely observed religious activities and experiments at Akbar's court before his journey to Hejaz<sup>211</sup>, he tried through this letter to bring to Jahangir's notice the importance of the Prophet of Islam and his mission. He also desired to check the tendency initiated in Akbar's time, of seeking spiritual solace from the teachings of other religions and schools of thought. Though the letter was couched in polite and academic language, it did not leave out any point that the Shaikh wanted Jahangir to bear in mind<sup>212</sup>.

Owing to lack of information in this regard, it is difficult to say anything about the relationship between Jahangir and Shaikh Abdul Haqq during the early years of Jahangir's reign. It was only in his fourteenth regnal year that Shaikh Abdul Haqq's famous work, *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*<sup>213</sup> was brought to Jahangir's notice. The emperor was so impressed by the book that he invited the Shaikh to his court, Jahangir writes in his *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*:

Shaikh Abdul Haqq Dehlawi, who belongs to the class of learned and pious people, had the good fortune of paying respects to me. He has compiled an account of the *mashaikh* of India. He produced the book before me, He had put great labour in its preparation. He has been leading a life of resignation and seclusion in a corner of Delhi for a long time. He is a revered personality and his company is not devoid of mystic delight.<sup>214</sup>

The emperor is also reported to have granted village Bakrwala near Delhi to the Shaikh. At first the Shaikh declined to accept, but on Jahangir's insistence he reluctantly accepted it.<sup>215</sup> Shaikh Abdul Haqq generally spent his time in prayer, instructing scholars in science, or writing on various aspects of Islamic theology, history, etc. Unfortunately Jahangir's relations with him could not remain permanently cordial. The reasons for this is not known.<sup>216</sup> Anyhow, Jahangir summoned him to Kashmir in 1627.<sup>217</sup> But, as Prince Dara Shukoh, in his *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, says:

When Shaikh Abdul Haqq reached Lahore, he visited Miyan Mir to obtain his blessings. The latter assured the Shaikh that he would return to his native place without meeting the Emperor and join his family. It so happened that four days after Shaikh Abdul Haqq's visit to Miyan Mir news of the death of Jahangir was received.<sup>218</sup>

Miyan Mir of Lahore<sup>219</sup>, a saint of the Qadiri order was another prominent spiritual figure during Jahangir's period. The latter came to know of him in January 1620, while travelling from Sirhind and Lahore to Kashmir. He says in his *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*:

It was reported to me that in Lahore that a saint, Miyan Shaikh Muhammad Mir, a lord of ecstasy, had seated himself in the corner with reliance upon God. He was rich in his poverty and indifferent to the material world. My truth seeking mind was not at rest without meeting him and my desire to see him increased. I wrote to him explaining my desire to meet him. Notwithstanding his old age and weakness he took the trouble to come to me. I sat with him for a long time alone and enjoyed a thorough interview with him. Truly he is a man of noble qualities. The existence of such people is

exceedingly rare. I heard him speak sublime words on truth and gnosis. Although I desired to make him some gift, I found that his spirit was too high for this and I did not press my wish. I left him the skin of a white antelope to pray upon, and he immediately bade me farewell and went back to Lahore.<sup>220</sup>

Dara Shukoh writes that when Jahangir requested the saint to ask for something from him, Miyan Mir replied, 'Would you be prepared to give me whatever I ask for from you?' The emperor said, 'Certainly, you may take it for granted'. The Mir, thereupon, said, 'I then ask you to allow me to depart'.<sup>221</sup>

According to the *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, after some time, Jahangir, again wished to meet Miyan Mir and it appears that a second meeting took place. There are two letters in which Jahangir wrote to the saint in his own handwriting. Jahangir addresses Miyan Mir as *Hazrat-Pir Dastgir* and seeks his blessings and favours so that he and his people may gain success against the ruler of Iran. Emperor Jahangir hoped that with Miyan Mir's blessings and benedictions the cruel Shah Abbas of Iran (who had besieged Qandahar in those days), would be punished with divine wrath.<sup>222</sup>

The sources also shed light on Jahangir's relations with Amir Saiyid Abul Ula Akbarabadi.<sup>223</sup> A descendant of the renowned Naqshbandi of Central Asia, Khwaja Ubaid Ullah Ahrar, he had been in the service of Akbar as a *mansabdar* to Raja Man Singh. It appears from his biographical accounts that Abul Ula also held the *mansab* of 3000 *zat* and *sawars*, and resided at Burdwan in Bengal. At the time of his accession Jahangir asked the nobles and officials of the empire to be present before him in Agra. Amir Abul Ula, in compliance with the orders, also called on him. The emperor had already come to know of this noble saint's administrative and personal career, scholarship, and piety.<sup>224</sup>

Jahangir is said to have been so deeply impressed by Abul Ula that he allowed him to visit his court, and even his private chambers, at any time without prior permission. It is also said that Jahangir always asked the saint to sit beside him.<sup>225</sup> Once Abul Ula visited Jahangir on the occasion of a royal festival and found him drinking wine. The emperor offered him a cup with great affection but Abul Ula declined. When Jahangir insisted, Abul Ula took the cup of wine and threw it on the ground before the emperor. Thereupon, Jahangir looking at the saint with fury, asked him, 'Are you not afraid of the Imperial wrath?' Amir replied boldly and confidently, 'I am only afraid of the Divine wrath, the *Qahr-i Ilahi*.<sup>226</sup> Soon after he renounced the world and after distributing his health and property among the poor and needy, left Agra for Ajmer.

In Ajmer Abul Ula is said to have stayed for a long time in the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti so as to benefit from his spiritual blessings. The Amir also received *Uwaisiyat*, to directly benefit from anybody's spirituality without the mediation of a *pir*, from the spirit of the Khwaja. It was on the Khwaja's mystical instruction that Abul Ula later joined the Naqshbandi mystic discipline and married the daughter of his uncle, Amir Abdullah.<sup>227</sup> After a while, he settled down in Agra and seems to have led a retired life.

Jahangir is also reported to have maintained cordial relations with the famous *Alim* of his time, Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti.<sup>228</sup> Unique in his age in so far as his knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences of Islam was concerned and as an author of scholarly works, Abdul Hakim occupied a respectable place in Jahangir's time. It was on the latter's desire that he started teaching the Quran and Islamic sciences in Lahore.<sup>229</sup>

## References

1. Amir Khurd, *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 68.
2. Shah Waliullah, *Anfas-ul Arifin*, Urdu Translation, Deoband, n.d., p. 69.
3. Amir Hasan Sijzi, *Fawa'id-ul Fawad*, Luckinow, 1885, p. 203.
4. K.A. Nizami's article, "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their attitude towards the state", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXII-XXIV, Hyderabad.
5. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 120.
6. K.A. Nizami's above referred article, "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their attitude towards the state".
7. Ibid.
8. *Baburnama* (English Translation, Beveridge, vol. II, pp. 481-84)
9. Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire Builder of the sixteenth century*, Introduction, pp. 1-18.
10. *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, p. 219.
11. *Afsanai Shahan* (M.S. Rotograph), p. 35; Abdullah, *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, 1954, pp. 71-73.
12. Shaikh Ruknuddin, *Lataif-i Quddusi*, New Delhi, 1894, p. 31.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
14. *Maktubat-i Quddusi* (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 82-86.
15. *Ibid.* (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 82-84.
16. *Ibid.* (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 83.
17. *Ibid.* (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 83-86.
18. *Takmila-i Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 109.
19. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 63.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

21. *Maktubat-i Quddusi*, Letter 131, p. 476.
22. *Ibid.* (Ms.) Letter 47, pp. 115-116.
23. *Ibid.* (Ms.) letter 135, p. 484. Letter 131, p. 476, letter 11, p. 29; letter 15, p. 42; Letter 25, pp. 65-67; letter 30, pp. 76-78, letter 39, p. 105; letter 41, pp. 106-107, letter 47, pp. 115-116, letter 48, p. 116; letter 49, pp. 117-118, letter 58, pp. 141-44; letter 59, pp. 144-45, letter 62, pp. 156-58.
24. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 31; *Maktubat-i Quddusi*, letter 30, pp. 77-78, letter 60, p. 116; Letter 62, pp. 156-58.
25. Ultimately Mughal inroads and plunder started. Each time Mohammad Babur Badshah came (the people of) the whole country fled and suffered destruction. We found refuge in this village of Gangoh.... When the pargana of Dipalpur was plundered many religious scholars, and pious men were killed and libraries were destroyed. Shaikh Abdul Shakur, son of Shaikh Muhammad Arif was present and asked Shaikh Abdul Quddus to pray to Almighty as religious scholars and pious men were being killed and the land of Islam was being destroyed. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 63.
26. *Maktubat-i Quddusi* (Ms.) Letter 169, pp. 625-28.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Maktubat-i Quddusi* (Ms.), Letter 169, pp. 625-28.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, Letter 170, pp. 628-29.
34. *Ibid.*, Letter 171, pp. 629-30.
35. *Ibid.*

36. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 8.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
38. *Tarikh-i Farishta*, Vol. I, p. 187.
39. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 31.
40. *Afsana-i Shahan* (Ms.) f. 29.
41. *Tarikh-i Farishta*, Vol. I. p. 188.
42. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 234.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
46. Bairam Khan's services to the ruling family, and newly established Mughal Kingdom were immense. The period of his Regency (1556-1560) is very significant in the history of the Mughal Empire. For details, see, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, pp. 24, 92, 117.
47. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, p. 91.
48. *Ibid*
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, III, p. 92; See also *Ain-i Akbari* (English tr.), I, p. 614.
51. *Ibid.*, III, p. 92.
52. The Shaikh (Abdul Qadir Lahori) went to Gujarat and having obtained from Bairam Khan and Mirza Nizamuddin provisions for his journey, attached himself to a company of pilgrims and proceeded towards Macca. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, p. 101; *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*, p. 412b.
53. *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 130.
54. The incident as narrated by Badauni, is as follows: Shaikh Daud asked the Makhdum-ul Mulk, the purpose of summoning the religious persons.

Makhdum-ul Mulk replied, "It is reported to me that your disciples in performing the litanies of *zikh* (initial formulae) say, "*Ya Daud, Ya Daud*". The Shaikh retorted, "Probably there is some misunderstanding in hearing owing to the similarity of sounds, for my followers say, "*Ya Wadud, Ya wadud*". Being a man of genius and remarkable talent, the *sufi* not only repudiated the charge but also convinced Makhdum-ul Mulk, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, pp. 32-49.

55. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, p. 39 .
56. *Hayat-i Muhaddis*, pp. 144-145.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
58. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p. 282 (Sir Syed edition).
59. According to the author of *Mirat-ul Haqaiq* (p. 89) the village is situated at a distance of 9 *kos*, in the South Westernly direction. *Hayat-i Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 149.
60. Dara Shukoh writes that all the charges levelled against him were baseless. The reasons are not given by him. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 115.
61. *Hayat-i Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 149. It appears from Dara Shukoh's account that Jahangir died due to the curse of Mian Mir. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 115.
62. *Mirat-ul Haqa'iq*, p. 87; Cf. *Hayat-i Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 149.
63. *Hayat-i Muhaddis Dehlavi*, p. 149.
64. *Tawarikh-i Sultan Bahu*, pp. 8-9, Dr. Lajwanti finds no other reason for Bahu's indifference towards Aurangzeb, except that he disapproved of his treatment of the *Sufis* and friends of the prince Dara Shukoh, whom the Qadiris, loved and counted as one of themselves, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 49.
65. *Tarikh-i Qadriyyah*, f. 146b.



66. Sultan Ahmad shah Bahmani not only conferred upon Shah Nurullah bin Khalilullah the title of *Malik-ul Mashaikh*, but also built a mosque and a city Niamatabad in his honour. *Tarikh-i Farishta*, I, p. 329.
67. Badauni, writing on Muharram 3, 1004 (1595) says, "This time Shaikh Musa Gilani, son of Shaikh Hamid, and younger brother of Shaikh Abdul Qadir, who was the *sajjadah nashin* of Uch had joined Imperial service with the rank of 500. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, p. 404, III, p. 92.
68. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, p. 92.
69. Ibid., III, p. 92 .
70. Muhammad Sadiq writes that Emperor appointed him *Sadr* of Bengal with the *mansab* of 300. *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*, f. 412b. It is noteworthy that Shaikh Ilah Bakhsh was sent to Gujarat in 1578-79; at that time Shahbaz was in Western Rajputana.
71. Shahbaz Khan's original name was Shah Ruhullah. His ancestors belonged to a respectable family and he himself spent his early life as a *dervish*. He was a descendant in sixth lines to Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani, a *sufi* of the Suhrawardi order. He left his theological studies and life of spiritual devotion and entered Akbar's service and was appointed *kotwal* with a rank of 300. He acted as *Mir-i Tuzuk*, *Bakhshi*, and *Mir Bakhshi*. He accompanied Akbar as Bakhshi Begi in his march to Gujarat in 1572. He died at Ajmer and was buried inside the northern part of the tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. For details; *Maasir-ul Umara*, II, pp. 591,593, 590-973, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, pp. 333, 363; *Ain-i Akbari*, I, p. 399; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, pp. 171, 190-91, 266-67, 280-81, 283, 285, 287, 289, 290, 296, 388, 402, *Akbar Nama*, II, pp. 370-71, III, pp. 189, 198, 202, 218,246,278,314,323-25,332-33, 395-96,401,402-04, 416-18, 438-537, 547, 565, 573, 584, 647, 699, 700,702.

72. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, p. 101.
73. *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*, f. 610b.
74. *Ibid.* f. 610b.
75. The following grant documents bear the seal of Saiyid Ahmad Qadiri. Jahangir's *Farman*, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 17, 19. See Saiyid Abdul Bari Ajmeri, *Asnad-us Sanadid*.
76. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p. 28 (Eng. tr.), vol. I, p. 60.
77. In the 20 Regnal year of Shahjahan's reign when *Sadr-us Sudur*, Saiyid Jalal died, the Emperor summoned Saiyid Hidayatullah Qadiri to his presence (at that time he was acting as the *Diwan* of Qandhar) and appointed him *Sadr-us Sudur*, with an increment of 1000 *zat* and 100 *sawar* in his rank. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, p. 456. For further details, Rafat F. Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi Religious Departments of the Mughal Period*, Aligarh, 1984, pp. 44, 47.
78. For details, author's article "Mian Mir's Relations with the Mughal Rulers", *Journal of the Punjab University*, vol. XXIII, 1986, Lahore, pp. 7-21.
79. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, pp. 43-44; *Shahjahan Nama*, III, p.640.
80. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p. 287.
81. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 46.
82. Mian Mir's conception of an ideal ruler is the same as that of Abul Fazl, who considered the presence of a monarch necessary to provide stability, to safeguard property and interests of his subjects, and to take care of the well-being of the creatures of God. *Ain-i Akbari*, tr. Blochmann 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1965, vol. I, pp. 2-3. Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb believed that the *raisin d'etre* of kingship is the protection of the subjects, see *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 57; *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, part I, pp. 284-85, 287.
83. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 46.

84. Ibid., p. 47.
85. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p. 287.
86. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, pp. 47-48.
87. It was in 1622 when Shah Abbas the Safavid ruler, besieged Qandhar and Jahangir in deep distress, wrote, "kindly remember this humble servant, please pray for the liberation of the servants of Almighty at the time of your prayers." *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 48.
88. *Shahjahan Nama*, II, p. 640, *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, pt. II, pp. 12, 65, *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, I, 548; *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 48.
89. *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, I, pp. 493, 502, 548.
90. *Badshah Nama*, pp. 12,65.
91. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 48.
92. *Shahjahan Nama*, III, p. 640.
93. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 50. For details, *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, I, p. 548. *Badshah Nama*, I, pp. 65, 334. *Safinat-ul Auliya*, f. 234a.
94. *A'mal-i Saleh*, III, p. 365; Mirza Muhammad Qazwini, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 12.
95. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 49.
96. Shahjahan spent *yak pas* (29 minutes) in their presence. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 49.
97. Ibid., p. 51.
98. *Shahjahan Nama*, III, p. 640, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 12. Dara Shukoh says that Mian Mir refused to take the turban but accepted rosary. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 51.
99. *A'mal-i Saleh*, III, p. 365; *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*, p. 640.
100. A celebrated Shattari *sufi* of his time, a very learned man busied himself in teaching jurisprudence, mysticism, commentary and traditions. He

founded a *madrasa* at Burhanpur. He died in 1596-97 and was buried in the same city. *Tazkira-i Ulama-i Hind*, p. 379.

101. *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 331.
102. Ibid., I, pp. 65, 334; *Safinat-ul Auliya*, f 233a.
103. *A'mal-i Saleh*, III, p. 376 *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 333.
104. *Farhat-un Nazirin*, f 191 b. The same authority mentions that Mulla Khwaja Behari paid several visits to Aurangzeb between 1657-58 and received his favours. One such visit was at Bagh-i Farah Bakhsh, Lahore.
105. *Mirat-ul Khayal*, f 36b.
106. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f. 105.
107. Tawakkul Beg Kulabi was the son of a Turkish soldier who served in a subordinate position to Aitqad Khan, the governor of Kashmir. He met Mulla Shah in 1631, at the age of sixteen and became his disciple. Their close associations lasted for about forty years. His *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, compiled in 1667, supplies many details about personal and religious life and scholarly achievement of Mulla Shah. It also provides useful information about the political, social and cultural life of the period. For details, *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, ff. 12a, 24a, 26b, 27b, 37a, 38a, 50ab, 59b. Author's article on "*Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*". In the *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, University of Punjab, Lahore, Sept. 1984, pp. 15-22.
108. *Mulla Shah*, writes Tahir Nasirabadi, "did not possess true faith and the above verse made him detestable in the eyes of public". *Tazkira-i Tahir Nasirabadi*, f. 35b. According to Ali Quli Daghistani, in the eyes of Ulama-i Zahir, Mulla Shah insulted the Prophet (peace be upon him) and they suggested death penalty for him through a *Mahzar*. For Ali Quli Khan's interpretation of the verse *Riaz-us Shura*, f. 245b.
109. Sher Khan Lodi, *Mirat-ul Khayal*, Bombay, 1906, f. 36.

110. Tawakkul describes it in his own vivid way: "On the insistence of *ulama*, the King was forced to take this action. The news reached Kashmir. The people assembled around Mulla Shah. The signs of pleasure were manifested from his appearance, while his companions were grieved. They told him to go to Tibet. But he replied that life and death were equal to him and he wanted eternal death, so he might be counted among the martyrs. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, ff 27b, 22ab. For further details, see author's article (A Mahzar in Shahjahan's Court) in *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XXXIV, part-I, pp. 25-32.
111. For details, *Badshah Nama*, pp. 123, 207; *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, I, p. 78; *Shahjahan Nama*, vol. III, pp. 640-41.
112. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f. 28a.
113. *Ibid.*, f 28b.
114. *Riaz-us Shura*, f 246a.
115. *Mirat-ul Khayal*, ff 36b.
116. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, ff 36b; 37a-38a.
117. *Ilm-ul Yaqin* (certainly of mind); A knowledge by inference.
118. *Ain-ul Yaqin* (certainly of seeing through eyes, i.e. certainty of sight).
119. *Haqq-ul Yaqin* (A Conviction of the Truth).
120. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f 38a.
121. *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 333.
122. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, ff 35a, 42a, 50ab, 51a, 59a; *Sahibiyah*, p. 20; *Dabistan-i Mazahib*; pp. 387-9, *Riaz-us Shura*, ff 245b-246a; *Mirat-ul Khayal*, ff 35b-36a; *Tazkira-i Tahir Nasirabadi*, f. 35b. *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 333.
123. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f. 50b.
124. *Ibid.*, f. 53a.
125. *Ibid.*, ff 57ab.

126. Ibid., ff. 59b, 60ab, 66b.
127. Ibid., f 67a.
128. Ibid., ff. 50b, 51a, 55b.
129. Ibid., f 50b.
130. "Help from God and a speedy victory". Translation from Holy Qur'an *Surah*: LXII, 11-14.
131. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, ff. 50ab, 51 a.
132. *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f. 55b. In strictly military terms, one might say that Shahjahan was victorious. Tawakkul Beg had described the effects of Shahjahan's Balkh campaign. According to him, the Uzbeks were defeated and scattered like lotus and ants. Balkh was destroyed and desolated. Price of grain increased at Balkh bringing misery to the people. Nazar Muhammad was forced to plead for peace. Subsequently Shahjahan withdrew his forces from Balkh after reinstating Nazar Muhammad in the territories that had been earlier taken from him forceably by the Mughals and returned to Shahjahanabad.
133. This letter, dated 19 Ziq'a'da 1057/1646 was written from Sirhind, *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f 57ab.
134. Ibid., f. 62a.
135. Ibid., ff. 67ab.
136. Ibid., f. 62a.
137. Ibid., ff. 71a-73b-166.
138. For further details, Ibid., ff. 45b, 59a, 60ab, 62a, 63a, 66b, 67a.
139. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS).
140. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* (Sir Sayyid edition), p. 258; *Memoirs of Jahangir* (Rogers), Vol. II, p. 3.
141. *Iqbal Nama* (Nawal Kishore edition), Vol. I, p. 149.
142. *Akbar Nama* (A.S. Bengal), Vol. I, p. 337.

143. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS.)
144. *Iqbal Nama*, Vol. II, p. 149.
145. *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 4.
146. 'Char Bagh' on the bank of the Ganges, built by Babar, Tuzak, p. 258.
147. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 337-338; *Iqbal nama*, Vol. I, pp. 36-37; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 258; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. II, p. 576.
148. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 258.
149. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 135.
150. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 5.
151. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 135.
152. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 4-5; *Iqbal Nama* supports Abul Fazl's statement (Vol. II, p. 149).
153. These letters were given by Shaikh Muhammad Jalal, a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari, to Muhammad Ghausi, the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Ghausi has copied these letters in his *Tazkira*.
154. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 135.
155. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 8 (English Translation), In an earlier volume (vol. II, p. 02 Trans.) Badauni says that although he was eighty years of age at that time, yet he had wonderful freshness on his face and his colour was remarkably fine.
156. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 135.
157. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 34.
158. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 205.
159. The treatise was *Iqbal Nama*, vol. II, p. 149 in which describing the circumstances of his own exaltation, he said that in his waking moments he had an interview and conversation with the Lord, who thus gave him superiority over the Prophet, Vol. II, pp. 34-35; see also *Akbar Nama*, vol. II, p. 135.

160. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 134.
161. Ibid.
162. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. II, p. 578
163. *Akbar Nama*, vol. II, p. 134.
164. Badauni, says that *Fattu* was a devoted disciple of the Shaikh – *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, vol. II, p. 62 (Trans.).
165. *Akbar Nama*, vol. II, p 232.
166. John A. Subhan, *Sufism : Its Saints and Shrines*, Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1999, p. 286.
167. In this connection see Badauni, *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh* Vol. II. The letters of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi also reflect the religious condition of Akbar's reign. See, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol. I, letter No. 47.
168. Khwaja Obaidullah Ahrar was the first Naqshbandi saint who made contacts with and deeply influenced his contemporary rulers. He freely mixed with them and sought their help for the welfare of people. *Rashahat-i Ain al-Hayat*, pp.287-305. Also see, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. I, Letters No. 47, 65.
169. *Zubdat al-Maqamat*, p. 24.
170. *Rud-i Kaushar*, pp. 186-87.
171. Towards the end of 1601 A.D. (1010 A.H.) Shaikh Farid Bukhari was assigned the duty to check the levy of unauthorized dues by some corrupt officials on the routes from Agra to Lahore. (see *Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 802). It seems that during his visit to Delhi and Lahore he would meet Khwaja Baqi Billah.
172. Ghauthi Shattari, *Gulzar-i Abrar* (Urdu), Agra, n.d., p. 77.
173. *Maktubat*, I, 45, *Kulliyat*, p. 57.
174. *Kulliyat*, p. 57.
175. *Maktubat*, I, 45, *Kulliyat*, p. 57.



176. *Malfuzat-i Khwaja Khurd* (MS) M.A. Library, Aligarh, F. 18.
177. For Shaikh Farid's relation with Shaikh Abdul Haqq, See, *Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi*, pp. 233-36.
178. Ibid., Also see *Rud-i-Kausar*, pp. 186-189.
179. *Maktubat*, Vol. I, see Letter No. 45 and 54.
180. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 24-25.
181. See, *Rud-i Kausar*, pp. 111-12.
182. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 144-45.
183. *Kulliyat-i Khwaja Baqi Billah*, p. 20.
184. *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. I, Istambul, Isik Kilabawi, 1977, Letters, 47 & 67.
185. Ibid., Letter No. 65.
186. S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India*, London/New York, 1969, p. 160.
187. *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p. 166.
188. Shaikh Ahmad's contribution to the accession of Jahangir to the throne lies in his convincing and motivating some important Mughal nobles, particularly Shaikh Farid Bukhari. The latter's role in Jahangir's accession is an established fact. Most historians agree on this point. Besides, Shaikh Farid had taken a promise from Saleem to defend Islam. See R.P. Tripathi, *The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1985, p. 340; Also I.H. Quraishi, *Akbar: The Architect of the Mughal Empire*, rpt. Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1985, pp. 66-7; also Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad: Indian Press, 1962.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi exerted his influence on Shaikh Farid Bukhari. His *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, contains many letters-addressed to the latter. These epistles give a clear impression that the Mujaddid looked upon this great Mughal noble as an ardent supporter of

Islam. These letters also show that there had been previous consultations and that mutual understanding had been reached between Ahmad Sirhindi and Shaikh Farid, and also between Shaikh Farid and Prince Saleem. The saint could not have written to such a high dignity so frankly unless he had found his ideas acceptable, For detailed study, see, K.A. Nizami, '*The Naqshbandi Influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics*', *Islamic Culture*, vol. 39, no. 1, January 1965, pp. 41-52; S. Nurul Hasan, '*Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Mughal Politics*', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Annamalai Session, 1945, pp. 248-57; Muhammad Aslam, '*Jahangir and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi*', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol. X, pp. 135-48. For Shaikh Farid Bukhari's relations with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi: See, Muhammad Umar, '*Shaikh Farid Bukhari's Relations with his Contemporary Ulama and Saints*', Cyclostyled IHC volume of 1977, Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.

189. For Shaikh Ahmad's views in regard to condemnation of Akbar's religious ideas and policy, See, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. 1, Istanbul: Isikkitabvi, 1977, Letters 17, 51, 53, and 54. Also Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's *Ithbat-un Nabuwah*, Karachi: Aa'la Kutub Khana, 1963.
190. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, op.cit., p. 348.
191. *Ibid.*
192. *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. 1, letter 1, op.cit.
193. Born in 1564 in Kabul, Baqi Billah travelled to many cities and towns of northern India, Afghanistan and Central Asia with the intention to meet and benefit from Sufis and *mashaikhs*, and finally joined the mystic fold of Maulana Khwaji Amkangi at Amkana near Bukhara. The latter authorised Baqi Billah into the Naqshbandi order as his khalifa and then asked him to go to Delhi and spread the Naqshbandi teachings there.

Baqi Billah founded the Naqshbandi order on his arrival in Delhi in 1599, but died a few years later. In this short period he attracted not only a large multitude of common people but also many important nobles of the Mughal empire and eminent Ulamas and Sufis of the time. Khwaja Baqi Billah's greatest achievement was to produce a famous disciple and Khalifa, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 5-61; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, pp. 213-60.

194. According to Badruddin Sirhindi, Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was devoted to the Shaikh. Due to the situation in the court and the emperor's summons, he was anxious and worried, and tried his best to save Ahmad Sirhindi from the wrath of his father, Emperor Jahangir. He sent Maulana Afzal Khan and Mufti Abdur Rahman, eminent *Alims*, to Sirhind to convince the Shaikh to observe the customary obeisance to Jahangir. These Ulama conveyed Prince Khurram's message to the Shaikh that prostrating in respect (*sajda i-tazimi*), before the king was lawful in some conditions, and if the (Shaikh Ahmad) did so, he (Prince Khurram) assured and guaranteed him full protection. Though the Shaikh, who had much affection for Prince Khurram (Shahjahan), declined saying that his (Khurram's) proposal was an act of departure from the "Divine Laws" (known in the terminology of *Shariah* as *rukhsat*); prostration is only for God. *Hazarat-ul Quds*, vol. II, p. 116.
195. Ibid., pp. 115-16.
196. Ibid., p. 115.
197. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, pp. 272-3.
198. Ibid., p. 308. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's stay in the royal camp with Jahangir has been a point of controversy among the scholars. Was his presence there really voluntary, as Jahangir has said in his *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, or was he forced to remain with the emperor Muhammad Masud Ahmad, *Sirat-Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani* Karachi: Madina Publishing Company, 1976, p. 198; S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i-Kausar*, p. 273 .

.It may also be noted in this connection that the author of the *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, the first biography of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, completed in 1627, writes, 'In his old age for three years on account of the opposition of the Emperor of the time, the Shaikh had to go to several cities along with the royal army'. Similarly Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, in a letter to his Son, Muhammad Masum, also expresses his disappointment and helplessness (*Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*; vol, III, Letter 83). In another letter the Shaikh says, 'I consider it a good fortune to live in the royal camp though with disappointment and helplessness' (ibid., Letter 87).

199. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 159.
200. Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani, *Majma-ul Auliya* (MS) (India Office Library, no. 145), f. 442.
201. *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. III, Letter 43.
202. When in March 1615 Jahangir appointed Shaikh Farid Bukhari, then governor of Punjab, to lead an expedition to the Kangra fort, the latter too had approached Shaikh Ahmad for a blessing. In one of his letters to Shaikh Farid, the saint not only prays to God for his success (in the Kangra expedition) but excuses himself from not taking part in the expedition. Sirhindi writes, I am unable to come to you on account of my physical weakness, otherwise I would have come to persuade you personally to do this act; (*Maktubat*, vol. I, Letter 269). The author of the *Hazarat-ul Quds* has also mentioned Shaikh Farid's request to the saint on this occasion (p. 178).
203. *Hazarat-ul Quds*, vol. II, pp. 178-9.
204. *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. III, Letter 47.
205. Ibid., Letter 72.
206. Ibid., letters 78, 85.
207. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, pp. 283-4.

208. Born in 958 AH /1551 AD in Delhi. His father Maulana Saifuddin and grandfather S'ad Ullah were held as great Ulama of their times. The famous historian, Rizq Ullah Mushtaqi was Shaikh Abdul Haqq's uncle. The Shaikh received his education from his father and then proceeded to Hejaz. On his way to Mecca and Madina he stayed for a year at Ahmedabad and benefited from the scholarship and spirituality of the famous saint Shaikh Wajihuddin Alavi. In Mecca, Shaikh Abdul Haqq remained at the feet of the great scholar of sciences and renowned mystic of the Qadiri order, Maulana Abdul Wahab Muttaqi. During his stay at Hejaz he visited the mausoleum of the Prophet of Islam at Madina. His work on the life of the Prophet of Islam, *Madarij-un Nabuwwah*, in Persian, earned him great fame. He was a disciple of the famous Shaikh Musa Gilani. As a member of the Qadiri order, the Shaikh was keenly devoted to its founder Shaikh Abdul Qadir jilani of Baghdad, and begins his *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* with a description of *Ghauth-ul Azam*, the title with which Shaikh Abdul Qadir jilani is addressed. Shaikh Abdul Haqq, during the reign of Akbar, had been in close contact with Abul Faiz Faizi. His various visits to the latter in Agra had provided him with opportunities to observe the religious condition of Akbar's court. He had been closely associated with Khwaja Baqi Billah, the founder of the Naqshbandi order in India. Shaikh Abdul Haqq died in 1642 during the reign of Shahjahan. For a detailed biography of him, See, K.A. Nizami, *Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi*, Delhi: Nadwat-ul Musannifin, 1964.
209. For Shaikh Abdul Haqq's friendship with Shaikh Farid Bukhari, see, Muhammad Umar's article '*Shaikh Farid Bukhari's Relations with the Contemporary Ulama and Sufis*', in a cyclostyled volume for IHC Session, 1977, Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.

210. K.A. Nizami, has included this letter in his *Hiyat-i Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith*, pp. 378-85.
211. As mentioned above, Shaikh Abdul Haqq through his association with Faizi (Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, rpt., Delhi: Taj Company, 1984, pp. 358-61), and Farid Bukhari, had the opportunity to have lived in Fatehpur Sikri for ten or twelve years. He must therefore, have, got to know the religious conditions in Akbar's court. See, Nizami, op. cit., p. 145; Ikram, op. cit., pp. 348-9).
212. Modern scholars have interpreted Shaikh Abdul Haqq's actions in different ways and with different viewpoints. See Ishtiaq Husain Quraishi, *Ulema in Politics*, Delhi: Renaissance Pub. House, 1985, p. 84; Nizami, op.cit., pp. 145-6; Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, pp. 381-2; S.A.A Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra: Agra University Publication, 1965, p. 161.
213. As stated earlier, this comprises biographical as well as mystical accounts of the Sufis of different orders that flourished in the close of the sixteenth century. Nizami's view is that this work was finally completed in 1591-2. It starts with the biographical accounts and teachings of the founder of the Chishti order in India, Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. In order to express his deep devotion, the author first gives details about the life, teachings and spiritual attainments of the great saint of Islamic world and founder of the Qadiri order, Shaikh Abdul Qadiri Jilani Baghdadi. The *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* was published in 1866-7 by Matba-i Muhammadi. It also published two later editions, one in 1892 and another in 1914. The first Urdu translation of the *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* appeared in 1910. The manuscripts of *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* are found in the Asiatic Society, British Museum, Cambridge University Library and Khuda Bakhsh Library.
214. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, op. cit., p. 282.

215. Nizami, op.cit, p. 148.
216. Dara Shikoh remarked that some people had wrongly attributed things and events that never occurred to Shaikh Abdul Haqq, with the intention of annoying the Emperor. See *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, Tehran: Matbu'at-i Ilmi, 1965, p. 115. But the author of *Mirat-ul Haqaiq* says that Nurjahan was not on good terms with Shaikh Abdul Haqq and always wanted to harm him. He suspects that she created misunderstanding in Jahangir's mind. See: *Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith*, p. 149.
217. Nizami, op. cit, p. 148; Rizvi, op. cit., p. 161; *Rud-i Kausar*, p. 382.
218. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, op. cit., p. 115.
219. Born in 1550 in Swistan near Thatta (Sindh), Shaikh Muhammad Mir, popularly known as Miyan Mir or Miyan Jeo, was a descendant of the second caliph, Umar al-Faruq al-Azam. At the age of twenty he shifted to Lahore for higher education and settled there. He spent most of his time in gardens and in the wilderness, engaged in prayer and meditation and hard spiritual exercises, mostly keeping night vigils. On account of his poor health he returned to Lahore after a year and died there in 1635.
220. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, pp. 286-7.
221. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 47.
222. Ibid., pp. 47-8.
223. Born in 1582, he belonged to an aristocratic scholar family. His grandfather Amir Abdus Salam, who earlier lived in Narela near Delhi, had subsequently shifted to Fatehpur Sikri on the request of Akbar. Abul Ula passed his early boyhood in Fatehpur Sikri where in the meantime his father Amir Abul Wafa passed away. After his grandfather's death in Mecca, Amir Abul Ula came under the care and guidance of his maternal grandfather Khwaja Muhammad Faiz, popularly known as Khwaja Faizi, who used to live in Burdwan in Bengal. There he gained mastery in the art of warfare and other crafts. Meanwhile Khwaja Faizi

died fighting in a battle under the command of Raja Man Singh against the Afghans in 1592. As Man Singh is said to have had a deep affection for Abul Ula, he recruited the latter in his maternal grandfather's place. A murid and Khalifa of his uncle Saiyid Amir Abdullah, Abul Ula was basically a Sufi of the Naqshbandi *Silsilah*, but adopted various customs and traditions of the Chishti order. His own *Silsilah* came to be known after him as the Abul Ulaiya *Silsilah*. Amir Abul Ula was succeeded by his younger son Amir Nurul Ula. His shrine, popularly known as the *dargah* of Saiyidna, has been an important Sufi centre through the centuries. For a detailed biography, see *Azkar-ul Ahrar*, *Asrar-i Abul Ula*.

224. *Asrar-i Abul Ula* (MS) f. 11a. But the sources of the political history of the time are totally silent in this regard.
225. *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, Vol. V, p. 22.
226. Ibid. Also *Asrar-i Abul Ula* (MS), f. 16.
227. *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, p. 22.
228. He was a renowned scholar of the seventeenth century. A pupil of Maulana Kamaluddin Kashmiri and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Mulla Abdul Hakim had been a classmate of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi during his studies in Siyalkot. It was Abdul Hakim who first addressed the latter as Mujaddid Alf-i Thani. He died in 1068 AH/1658 AD. For details, see, *Khazinat-ul Asfia* (Urdu trans.), pp. 338-9.
229. Ibid., p. 338.



## CONCLUSION

Sufism, an important aspect of Muslim spiritual life, holds extraordinary position in medieval Indian history. Right from the time of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, the mystics of Islam, i.e. Sufis, have made great contribution in different fields of medieval life. No doubt the general sources of our medieval history provide all sorts of information about different events, personalities etc. of the medieval period. However, the sufi literature, produced in medieval India, is also of great historical significance. This literature, whether in the form of *mal'fuzat*, *tazkiras*, *maq'atubat* or brochures and treatises of sufi thought and practices, is a precious treasure. We come across a lot of information through these work not only of spiritual but social, cultural and even political life of medieval India. Number of works dealing with various sufi aspect were produced upto the fifteenth century in Indian sub-continent.

Sources say the process of writing books on Sufis and Sufism increased rapidly. Sufis and their followers greatly contributed in this context. Innumerable sufi works were compiled during the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. These works also include *mal'fuzat*, biographical accounts, i.e. *tazkirahs*, *maktubat* (collection of the saints' letters), etc. As a matter of fact the whole sufi literature of these two centuries is of great historical significance. This too sheds flood of light on various aspects of medieval life – social, cultural, religious, academic and political.

The letters of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi – the *Maktubat-i Quddusiyah* and his biographical account, the *Lataif-i Quddusi* (written by his

son Shaikh Ruknuddin), provide valuable information about the saint's (Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi's) relations with Ibrahim Lodi, Babur and Humayun. Likewise, the famous (biographical) work of Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi entitled *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* is undoubtedly a great source of our social, cultural and even political information of the medieval period.

The works of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, particularly his letters, known as the *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, is also one of the significant source for the history of the Mughal period. These letters shed light on various aspects of medieval life – social and political both. Not only different aspects of Islamic mysticism are found discussed in these letters but we also find invaluable information about social and political life of this period. Sirhindi's other works, particularly his *Ithbat-un Nabuwwah* is an important source of information about the religious experiments of Emperor Akbar. Sirhindi's *pir* Khwaja Baqi Billah's letters *Makatib-i Sharifa*, and poetic verses – *Rubaiyat*, also tell us, though to some extent, about the socio-political life of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Similarly, the *Maktubat* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's sons – Khwaja Muhammad S'aid and Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, are also significant sources of our information.

The works of Dara Shikoh are also undoubtedly valuable sources to know about the socio-political life of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Likewise, the works of Shaikh Muhibullah Ilahabadi also are significant source for our study.

Thus on the basis of the above study it may confidently be said that the sufi-literature of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries is of great value as we get lot of information about socio-political life during the above mentioned period from this literature.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. Primary Sources

#### Arabic and Persian

1. Abdullah, *Tarikh-i Dawudi*, Aligarh, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U., 1954.
2. Aflaki, Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Manaqib-ul Arifin*, Agra, 1897.
3. Ahmad, Nizamuddin, *Karamat-ul Auliya*, Ms, IOL, Ivanow.
4. \_\_\_\_\_, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, vol. I, III, Calcutta, 1913, 1927, 1931, English translated by B. De, Calcutta, 1913, 1936.
5. Ahsan, Kamaluddin Mohammad, *Rauzat-ul Qayyumiah* (Ms.) Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U. Aligarh. Urdu translation, Lahore, 1335 AH.
6. Ali, Asghar, *Jawahir-i Faridi*, Lahore, 1884.
7. Ali, Hazin Shaikh, *Tazkirat-ul Ahwal* in the *Kulliyat-i Hazin*, Lucknow, 1876, London, 1830.
8. Al-Jilani, Abdul Qadir, *Futuh-al Ghaib*, Persian commentary by Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis, Lucknow, 1881.
9. Allami, Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. I (Blochman), vol. II, Jarrete and Sarkar, Calcutta, 1949, vol. III, Jarrete, Sarkar, Calcutta, 1940, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1882.
10. \_\_\_\_\_, *Akbarnama*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1873-87. Eng. Tr. by H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1897-1921, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1883.
11. Al-Sulami, Abul Abdul Rahman, *Tabaqat-ul sufiya*, edited, Cairo, 1969.
12. Amrohwi, Ahmad Husain *Jawahir-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Lahore, n.d.
13. Anonymous, *Manaqib-i Qadiriya*, Peshawar, 995 A.H.
14. \_\_\_\_\_, *Manaqib-ul Asfiya*, Calcutta, 1895.

15. Assar, Saiyid Muhammad Kazim, *Wahdat-i wujud wa bada*, Mashhad, 1350/1971.
16. Awhadi, Taqi, *Arifat-ul Arifin wa arsat-ul Ashiqin*, Bankipur, VIII, 685-86 A.H.
17. Babur, Zahiruddin Muhammad, *Baburnama*, Turkish text, Leiden and London, 1905. Eng. Tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1921. Reprint pub. Oriental Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1972.
18. Badakhshi, H.M. Amin, *Manaqib-i Hazarat*, Authors Personal Collection.
19. Badauni, Abdul Qadir, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Calcutta Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1964-69, vol. I, English tr. G.S.A. ranking, Calcutta, 1895-99. vol. II, W.H. Lowe, Calcutta, 1884-98. vol. III, T.W. Haig, Calcutta, 1899-1995.
20. Banshawi, Abdul Razzaq, *Manaqib-i Razzaqia*, pub. Shahi Press, Lucknow, 1921.
21. Begam, Gulbadan, *Humayunnama*, Matba-i Punjab, Lahore, 1966. London, 1902.
22. Begam, Jahan Ara, *Munis-ul Arwah*, Rieu I, 3576.
23. Bilgrami, Ghulam Ali Azad, *Rawdat-ul Awliya* pub. Kutub Khana Asfiya, Aurangabad, 1310/1892-93.
24. Biyat, Bayazid, *Tazkira-i Humayun wa Akbar* (ed. M. Hidayat) Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1941.
25. Bulaq, M., *Raudah-i Aqtab*, Delhi, 1887. Lahore, 1890.
26. Dehlawi, Abdul Aziz, *Bustan-ul Muhaddisin*, New Delhi, 1898.
27. \_\_\_\_\_, *Malfuzat-i Shah Abdul Aziz*, Meerat, 1314/1896.
28. Dehlawi, Abdul Haqq Muhaddis, *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, Pub. Muhtabai Press, New Delhi, 1332/1914.
29. \_\_\_\_\_, *Madarij-un Nubuwwa*, Lucknow, 1867.

30. \_\_\_\_\_, *Zad-ul Muttaqin*, Rampur, MS.
31. Dehlawi, Jamali Kambo, *Siyarul Arifin*, New Delhi, 1311/1893.
32. Didamari, Khwaja Muhammad Azam, *Waqiat-i Kashmir* or *Tarikh-i Azami*, Lahore, 1307/1886.
33. Dughlat, Mirza Hayder, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Rieu, 1, 1646, Eng. tr. by E. Denison Ross, London, 1898.
34. Fani, Mohsin, *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, Nawal Kishore Press, Kanpur, 1311 A.H.
35. Firdausi, Amin Ahmad Sabat, *Gul-i Bihishti*, Lucknow, 1881.
36. \_\_\_\_\_, *Gul-i Firdaus*, Lucknow, 1884.
37. Firishta, M. Qasim Hindu shah, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, Lucknow, n.d.
38. Gangohi, Shaikh Abdul Quddus, *Anwar-ul Ayun*, urdu tr. by Khalil-ul Rahman Chaudhari, New Delhi, 1311/1894.
39. \_\_\_\_\_, *Maktubat-i Quddusiyya*, pub. Matba-i Ahmadi Press, New Delhi, 1871.
40. \_\_\_\_\_, *Maktubat-i Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi*, Delhi, 1207 A.H.
41. \_\_\_\_\_, *Rushad Nama*, Hindi tr.by Alakh Bani, S.A.A. Rizvi and S. Zaidi, Aligarh, 1970.
42. Gisudaraz, *Maktubat-i Gisu Daraz*, Ivanow, 1232.
43. \_\_\_\_\_, *Sharh al-fiqh al Akbar*, Hyderabad, 1367 A.H.
44. Gwaliary, Muhammad Ghaus, *Bahr-ul Hayat*, Ethe, 2002.
45. \_\_\_\_\_, *Jawahir-i Khamsa*, Ethe, 1875.
46. Hai, Abdul, *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir* (Arabic) vol. III, IV, V, pub. Daera-ul Maarif, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1976.
47. Hamadani, *Kalimat-ul Sadiqin*, compiled in 1614 Ms, Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh.
48. Hasan, Maulana Burhanuddin Abul, *Hidaya*, Calcutta, 1234 A.H.

49. Hujwiri, Ali, *Kashful Mahjub*, Lahore, 1923. Eng. tr. by R.A. Nicholson, Reprint, London, 1959.
50. Husain, Hafiz Mohd., *Anwar-ul Arifin*, Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876.
51. Ibn Arabi, *Al-Futuh al-Makkiyya*, 4 Vols. *Buluq*, 1293/1876-77.
52. \_\_\_\_\_, *Fusus-al Hikam*, edited by Abul Ala Afifi, Cairo, 1946.
53. \_\_\_\_\_, *Muhazarat-al Abrar*, 2 vols. Cairo, 1887-88.
54. \_\_\_\_\_, *Risalah, Ruh-ul-Qulub*, Cairo, 1281/1865-66.
55. Ishraqi, Shaikh-al Sharazuri-al, *Nuzhat-ul Arwah wa rawzat-ul Afrah*, 10, 4613 persian tr. by Maqsud Ali Tabrizi, Tarjama-i Tarikh ul hukana, Ethe, 615.
56. Jahanabadi, Shaikh Kalimullah, *Maktubat-i Kalimi*, New Delhi, 1315/1897-98.
57. Jahangir, the Emperor – *Tuzuk-i Jahangir*, Ghazipur, Dar Press Khawish Aligarh, 1863-64, Eng. tr. by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge, London, 1909-14, Pub. Low Price Publication, New Delhi.
58. Jami, Maulana Abdur Rahman, *Nafahat-ul uns*, Tehran, 1336/1947.
59. Jawhar, Ghulam Husain Khan, *Gulzar-i Asafiya*, Bombay, 1308/1891.
60. Kamal, Khawaja, *Tuhfat-ul Suada*, Rampur, 1961.
61. Kashifi, Fakhruddin Ali, *Rashahat-i Aim-al Hayat*, Lucknow, 1912.
62. Khafi Khan, Muhammad, *Muntakhab-ul lubab*, Calcutta, 1850-74.
63. Khan, Ashraf Ali, *Tarikh-i Jaipur, Ba Ashraf namah*, Ms, Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U. Aligarh.
64. Khan, Bakhtawar, *Mirat-ul Alim*, Lucknow, 1979.
65. Khurd, Amir, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, Mahib-i Hind Press, Delhi, 1302 A.H.
66. Kishmi, Khawaja Mohd. Hashim, *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1885. Kanpur, 1890.

67. Lahori, Abdul Hamid, *Padshahnama*, Calcutta Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1866-72.
68. Lal, Baba, *Waqai Shah Muinuddin Chishti*, Lucknow, 1881.
69. Lodi, Sher Khan, *Mirat-ul Khayal*, Bombay, 1324/1906.
70. Malik, Haydar, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, Ethe, 2846.
71. Masum, Khawaja Muhammad, *Maktubat-i Masumiya Matba-i Nizami*, Kanpur, 1887. Lucknow, 1917. Karachi, 1976.
72. Mirza, Muhammad Wahid, *Qiran us sadain*, ed. S. Hasan Barni, Aligarh, 1918.
73. Muhammad, Abdul Samad, *Akhbar-ul Sufiyah*, New Delhi, 1606.
74. Muhammad, Abul Khair, *Kalimat-i Tayyibat*, Delhi, 1309/1891-92.
75. Muhammad, Gul, *Marufi-i Karkhi, Zikr-al Asfiya fi Takmilat Siyarul awliya dur manqabat-i Shams-al Huda*, Delhi, 1312/1894.
76. Muhiuddin bin Husain, *Malfuzat-i Shah Mina or Tuhfat-al Sadiya*, Hardoi, 1900.
77. Munshi, Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgir nama*, Calcutta, 1865-73.
78. Muradabadi, Muhammad Husain, *Anwar-ul Arifin*, Lucknow, 1876.
79. Muslimi, Abdul Maali, *Tuhfat-ul Qadiriya*, Siyalkot, 1899.
80. Nagauri, Najmuddin, *Manaqib-ul Mahbubin*, Rampur, 1289/1873.
81. Qadi, Maulana M., *Silsilat-ul Arifin*, Aligarh, Ms, Subh, coll. No. 71.
82. Qandahari, Muhammad Arif, *Tarikh-i Akbari*, Hindustan Printing Works, Rampur, 1962.
83. Qasim, Mohammad, *Makhtubat-i Kalimi*, Delhi, 1301 A.H.
84. Qasuri, Abdullah Khweshgi, *Akhbar-ul Awliya min lisan ul Asfiya*, Ivanow, 273.
85. Qazwini, Mirza Muhammad, *Badshahnama*, Rieu I, 258b.
86. Qazwini, Muhammad Hasan, *Riyazush Shahada-fi-zikr masaib al sada*, Bombay, 1273-4/1857-58.



87. Qalandar, Hamid, *Khayr-ul Majalis*, Aligarh, 1960.
88. Qutbuddin, Ahmad, *Anfas-ul Arifin*, New Delhi, 1738.
89. Rahman, Abdul, *Mirat-ul Asrar*, Personal Collection, Ms, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
90. Rahman, Ali, *Tazkira-i ullaama-i Hind*, Lucknow, 1914.
91. Razi, Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i Alamgiri*, Aligarh, 1946.
92. Ruknuddin, Shaikh, *Latiaf-i Quddushi*, New Delhi, 1311/1894.
93. Samad, Abdul, *Akhbar-ul Asfiya*, Peshawar, 1678-79.
94. Sarwani, Abbas Khan, *Tuhfa-i Akbar-shahi*, Decca, 1964.
95. Sarwar, Ghulam, *Khazinat-ul Asfiya*, Samin-ar-i Hind Press, Lucknow, 1873. Kanpur, 1902. Lahore, 1983.
96. Shabistari, Mahmud, *Gulshan-i Raz*, the Rose garden of mysteries, ed. and tr. E.H. Whinfield, London, 1880.
97. Shah, Abdur Rahim, *Anfas-i Rahimiyya*, New Delhi, 1915.
98. Shah, Muhammad Azam, *Waqiat-i Kashmir*, Lahore, 1303 A.H.
99. Shaikh, Muhammad Said, *Maktubat-i Saidiyya*, Lahore, 1385/1965.
100. Shattari, Mohammad Ghausi, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, Rotograph (No. 174) Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, Urdu tr. *Azkar-ul Abrar*, by Maulvi Fazl Ahmad, Agra, 1326 A.H.
101. Shattari, Pir Muhammad, *Risalat-ul Shuhada*, found at Kanta Duar, Rangpur by G.H. Damant Pt. I, pp. 215-39.
102. Shukoh, Dara, *Hasanat-ul Arifin*, Amritsar, n.d.
103. \_\_\_\_\_, *Majma-ul Bahrain*, Tehran, n.d.
104. \_\_\_\_\_, *Safinat-ul Auliya*, ed. Tara Chand, Kanpur, 1900.
105. \_\_\_\_\_, *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, ed. by Tara Chand, Kanpur, 1900. Tehran, 1965.
106. \_\_\_\_\_, *Sirr-i Akbar*, Tehran, n.d.

107. Shustari, Qazi Saiyid Nurullah, *Majalis-ul Muminin*, Tehran, 1299/1881-02.
108. Sihalwi, Mulla Nizamuddin, *Manaqib-ul Razzaqiah*, Lucknow, 1896.
109. Sijzi, Amir Hasan, *Fawa'id-ul Fuad*, Bulandshahar, 1272/1855-56, Lucknow, 1885.
110. Simnani, Mohd. Ashraf Jahangir, *Maktubat*, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh.
111. \_\_\_\_\_, *Maktubat-i Ashrafi*, Ms, British Museum, or 267.
112. Sirhindi, Badruddin Ibrahim, *Hazarat-ul Quds*, Vol. I, Urdu tr. Lahore, 1343 AH, 2<sup>nd</sup> vol. Persian, Lahore, 1971.
113. Sirhindi, Shaikh Ahmad, *Ithbat-un Nabuwwat*, Karachi, 1936. Lahore, 1965.
114. \_\_\_\_\_, *Mabda-o Maad*, in the Kulliyat, Kanpur 1891-92, pub. with Urdu translation, Karachi, 1968. Delhi, 1889.
115. \_\_\_\_\_, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, in the Kulliyat, Karachi, 1392/1972. Lucknow, 1877.
116. \_\_\_\_\_, *Maqalat-i Shaikh Ruknuddin Alauddaula Simnani or Chihl-Majlis*, Rampur, Ms.
117. \_\_\_\_\_, *Radd-i Rawafiz*, in the Kulliyat, published with Urdu translation, Karachi, 1973.
118. Sulami, Abu Abdur Rahman, *Kitab Tabaqat al-Sufiyya*, Cairo, 1372/1953. Leiden, 1960.
119. Troyer, D. Shea, *Dabistan-al Madhahib*, Khalil and Co., Lahore, 1973.
120. Wahdat, Abdul Ahad, *Gulshan-i Wahdat*, Karachi, 1966.
121. Wajihuddin Gujarati, *Haqiqat-i Muhammadiyya*, Tashkent Ms, Persian tr. Abdul Aziz, Bankipur, XVI, 1399 A.H.
122. Zaidpuri, Ghulam Husain Khan Salim, *Riyazus Salatin*, Calcutta, 1902-04.

## B. Secondary Works

### English and Other European languages

1. Abidi, S.A.H., *Sufism in India*, pub. Wishwa Prakashan, New Delhi, 1992.
2. Afifi, Abul Ala, *The mystical philosophy of Muhiyuddin Ibn-al Arabi*, Cambridge, 1939.
3. Ahmad, Aziz, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, London, 1964.
4. \_\_\_\_\_, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964.
5. Ahmad, Tariq, *Religio-Political Ferment in the N.W. Frontier during the Mughal period* (The Raushaniya Movement), pub. Idarah-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, New Delhi, 1982.
6. Arberry, A.J., *An Introduction to the History of Sufism*, London, 1942.
7. \_\_\_\_\_, *Classical Persian Literature*, London, 1958.
8. \_\_\_\_\_, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, London, 1964.
9. \_\_\_\_\_, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam*, London, 1950.
10. \_\_\_\_\_, *The Doctrines of the Sufis*, translated by Kalabadhis Kitab al-ta Aruf, Cambridge, 1935.
11. Arnold, Sir Thomas, *The Preaching of Islam*, Reprint, Lahore, 1956.
12. Ashraf, K.M., *Life and condition of people of Hindustan*, Pub. Munshiram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1970.
13. Barch, A., *The Religions of India*, English translated J. Wood, London, 1882.
14. Battuta, Ibn, *Rehla* (translated by Mehdi Hasan), Baroda, 1953.
15. \_\_\_\_\_, *The travels of Ibn Battuta*, pub. Karachi Nafis Academy, Karachi, 1977. London, 1959.

16. Bilgrami, Rafat, *Religious and Qausi religious, Department of the Mughal period (1556-1707)*, New Delhi, 1984.
17. Buck, C.H., *Faiths, fairs and festival of India*, Calcutta, 1917.
18. Chand, Tara, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1963.
19. Chandra, Satish, *Parties and politics at the Mughal Court (1707-40)*, New Delhi, 1979.
20. \_\_\_\_\_, *Religion, State and Society in Medieval India*, pub. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005.
21. Corbin, Henry, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn-ul Arabi*, London, 1969.
22. Eaton, R.M., *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300-1700*, Princeton, 1978.
23. Engineer, Asghar Ali, *Sufism and Communal Harmony*, Jaipur, 1991.
24. Faruqi, B.A., *The Mujaddids Conception of Tawhid*, Aligarh (Department of Philosophy, A.M.U.), 1940.
25. Friedmann, Johanan, *Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of his thought and a study of his image in the eyes of posterity*, Montreal, 1971.
26. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of Sikh Gurus*, New Delhi, 1973.
27. Habib, Irfan, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, pub. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1982.
28. Habibullah, A.B.M., *The Foundation of the Muslim rule in India*, Allahabad, 1961 (IInd).
29. Haq, S. Moinul, *Islamic thought and movement in the Subcontinent*, Karachi, 1979.
30. Haqq, Enamul, *Muslim Bengali Literature*, Karachi, 1957.
31. Hasrat, Bikramajit, *Dara Shukoh: life and Works*, pub. Wishwabharti, Publication Department, Calcutta, 1953. New Delhi, 1982.

32. Hawley, J.S., *Songs of the saints of India*, Oxford, 1904.
33. Husain, Yusuf, *Hawd-al-Hayat: La Version arabedel Amritkund*, F. Asiat, CCXIII, 1928.
34. \_\_\_\_\_, *Indo mystique au moyen age*, Paris, 1929.
35. Husaini, S.A.Q., *The Pantheistic monism of Ibn al-Arabi*, Lahore, 1970.
36. Ikram, S.M. and Rashid, S.A., *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, Lahore, 1962. London, 1969.
37. Iqbal, Sir Muhammad, *The Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam*, New Delhi, 1974.
38. Jalbani, G.N., *Teachings of Shah Waliullah of Delhi*, Lahore, 1973.
39. Khan Khaja, *Studies in Tasawwuf*, Madras, 1923.
40. Lajwanti, R.K., *Panjabi Sufi poets*, London, 1938.
41. Landau, R., *The Philosophy of Ibn-ul Arabi*, London, 1959.
42. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1963.
43. Malsiyani, Arsh, *Naghma-i Sarmad*, Lahore, n.d.
44. Nabi, Hadi Syed, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, New Delhi, 1995.
45. Nabi, Mohd. Nur, *Development of Muslim Religious thoughts in India*, Aligarh, 1962.
46. Najibullah, *Islamic Literature*, Washington, 1963.
47. Nasr, Saiyid, H., *Sufi Essays*, London, 1972.
48. Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Pub. Idarah Adabiyat Delhi, New Delhi, 1976.
49. \_\_\_\_\_, *The idea of Personality in Sufism*, Cambridge, 1923.
50. Nizami, K.A., *Akbar and Religion*, New Delhi, 1989.
51. \_\_\_\_\_, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1985.

52. \_\_\_\_\_, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, Aligarh, 1956.
53. Oman, J.C., *The mystic, ascetics and saints of India*, London, 1905.
54. Prasad, Beni, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad (Indian Press), 1962.
55. Qanungo, K.R., *Dara Shukoh*, Calcutta, 1935.
56. Qureshi, I.H., *Akbar: The Architect of the Mughal Empire*, Rpt. Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, New Delhi, 1985.
57. Rafiqi, A.Q, *Sufism in Kashmir from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century*, Australian National University Thesis, 1972.
58. Rahman, Fazlur, *Selected letters of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi*, Karachi, 1968.
59. Rashid, Abdur, *Society and Culture in Medieval India (1206-1556)*, Calcutta, 1969.
60. Rastogi, T.C., *Sufism : A dictionary with profiles of saint-poets*, New Delhi, 1990.
61. Rizvi, S.A.A., *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. I, Delhi, 1978, vol. II, pub. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1983.
62. \_\_\_\_\_, *Muslim Revivalist Movement in northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth century*, pub. by Munshiram Manoharlal, New New Delhi, 1965.
63. \_\_\_\_\_, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, New Delhi, 1975.
64. \_\_\_\_\_, *Shah Waliullah and his times*, Canberra, 1980.
65. Saeed, M.M., *The Sharqi sultan of Jaunpur: A political and Cultural History*, Pub. University of Karachi, Pakistan, 1972.
66. Saksena, B.P., *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1958.
67. Schimmel, Annemarie, *Islam in Indian Sub-continent*, Brill Leiden, 1980.

68. Shah, S. Ikbal Ali, *Islamic Sufism*, London, 1933 and Adam Publishing and Distributors, New Delhi, 1998.
69. Shah, Zawwar Husain, *Hazrat-i Muyuddin Alf-i Thani*, Karachi, 1975.
70. Sharda, H.B., *Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive*, Ajmer, 1941.
71. Sharma, S.A., *The Religious policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Agra, 1972.
72. Sharma, S.R., *Sufi thought*, New Delhi, 1974.
73. Shushtery, A.M.A., *Early Sufis and their Sufism*, Adam Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2006.
74. Siddiqui, I.H. and Nazir Ahmad, *Islamic Heritage in South Asian Subcontinent*, Jaipur (Publication scheme), 2000.
75. Singh, Fauja, *Sirhind through the Ages*, Patiala (Panjab University), 1972.
76. Story, C.A., *Persian Literature, A bio-bibliographical Survey*, London, 1927-58.
77. Subhan, J.A., *Sufism its saints and shrines*, pub. Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, 1990, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Lucknow, 1960.
78. Titus, Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi doctrines*, Lahore, 1959.
79. Trimingham, J.S., *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971.
80. Tripathi, R.P., *Some aspects of Muslim Administration*, Allahabad, 1959.
81. Umar, Mohammad, *Islam in Northern India during the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, New Delhi, 1993.
82. Umaruddin, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Gahzali*, Aligarh, 1962.
83. Vaudeville, Charlotte, *Kabir*, vol. I, Oxford, 1974.
84. Zaehner, R.C., *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, London, 1960.
85. Ziadah, N.A., *Sanusiyah: A Study of a revivalist movement in Islam*, Leiden, 1958.

## C. Secondary sources

### Urdu, Hindi

1. Abdus Salam, Maulana Abul, *Tadhkirah Mashaikh-i Banaras*, Pub. Nadwatul Maarif Banarasa, 1371 A.H.
2. Ahmad, Muhammad Masud, *Sirat-i Mujaddid-i Alf Thani*, Karachi, Madina Publishing Copany, 1976.
3. Ahmad, Syed Iqbal, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i sharq*, vol. II, pub. Shiraz Publishing House, Jaunpur, 1988.
4. Ali, Maulvi Rahman, *Tadhkirah-i ulama-i Hind*, Pub. Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1961.
5. Ansari, Muhammad Riza, *Bani-i Dars-i Nizami*, Lucknow, 1973.
6. Aslam, Muhammad, *Tarikh-i Maqalat*, New Delhi, 1970.
7. Azad, Saiyid Mahiyuddin Abul Kalam (Maulana Azad), *Tazkira*, New Delhi (Sahitya Academy), 1968.
8. Baqa, Mazhar, *Usul-i Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah*, Islamabad, 1973.
9. Bashiruddin, Muhammad, *Waqiat-i Mamalik-i Bijapur*, Agra, 1915.
10. \_\_\_\_\_, *Tarikh-i Bijapur*, Delhi, 1910.
11. Bhakkari, Shaikh Farid, *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, Karachi, 1961.
12. Chaturvedi, P.R., *Hindi Ke sufi Premakhyana*, Allahabad, 1962.
13. \_\_\_\_\_, *Sufi Kavya Sangrah*, Allahabad, 1965.
14. Chishti, Nur Ahmad, *Tahqiqat-i chishti*, pub. Hamidiyya Steam Press, Lahore, 1907.
15. Din, Kalim Muhammad, *Lahore me Auliya-i Naqshband Ki Sargarmiyah*, Lahore, 1968.
16. Gilani, Manazir Ahsan, *Tazkira-i Hazrat Shah Waliullah*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1946.



17. Gorakhpuri, M. Ihsanullah, *Sawanih umri Hazrat Mujaddid Alf-i Sani*, Rampur, 1926.
18. Hamid, Abdul, *Shajara-i Khandan-i Chisht*, Hyderabad, n.d.
19. Haqq, Abdul, *Urdu Ki Nashw-o Numa main Sufiya-i Kiram Ka Kam*, Delhi, 1939.
20. Hasan, Muhammad, *Maqamat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Lucknow, 1915.
21. Husain, Muhammad, *Halat-i Mashaikh-i Naqshbandiya Mujaddidiya*, Lahore, n.d.
22. Ibrahim Muhammad, *Rawdat-al Awliya-i Bijapur*, Raichur, 1314 A.H.
23. Ikram, Shaikh Muhammad, *Ab-i Kawsar*, Lahore, 1975.
24. \_\_\_\_\_, *Mauj-i Kausar*, Lahore, 1975.
25. \_\_\_\_\_, *Rud-i Kausar*, Lahore, 1975.
26. Iqbaluddin Ahmad, *Tadhkira-i Khawaja Gesudaraz*, Karachi, 1966.
27. Jami, Maulana Abdur Rahman, *Nafahat-ul Uns*, Calcutta, 1968.
28. Jang, Yar Akhtar, *Tarikh-i Daccan*, Hyderabad, 1355 A.H.
29. Khan, Shahnawaz, *Maasir-ul Umara*, II, Calcutta, 1888-91.
30. Latif, Muhammad, *Auliya-i Lahore*, Lahore, 1962.
31. Mujaddidi, M. Iqbal, *Ahwal wa asar-i Abdullah khweshgi Qasuri*, Lahore, 1972.
32. Nadvi, Syed Abdul Hasan Ali, *Tarikh-i dawat-i Azimat*, Vol. IV, New Delhi, 1980.
33. Nizami, K.A., *Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi*, Delhi, 1953.
34. \_\_\_\_\_, *Salatin-i Dehli Ke Mazhabi rujhanat*, Delhi, 1958.
35. \_\_\_\_\_, *Shah Waliullah Ke Siyasi Maktubat*, Aligarh, 1950.

36. \_\_\_\_\_, *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht*, Nadwatul Mussaiyfin, Urdu Bazar, Delhi, 1953.
37. Numani, M. Manzur, *Tazkira Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani*, Lucknow, 1982. Bareilly, 1937.
38. Numani, Shibli, *Al-Ghazali* (Reprint) Azamgarh, 1966.
39. Qadiri, Syed Shamsullah, *Maktubat-i Tarikh*, Karachi, 1967.
40. Qazi Jawaid, *Barr-i Saghir men muslim fikr ka irtiqa*, Lahore, 1977.
41. Quddusi, Ijazul Haqq, *Tazkira-i Sufiya-i Bengal*, Lahore, 1965.
42. \_\_\_\_\_, *Tazkira-i sufiya-i Panjab*, Karachi, 1962.
43. Rafiqi, Abdul Qaiyyum, *Sufism in Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1976.
44. Rahman, Shamsur, *Shah Waliullah Ke Umarani Nazariya*, Lahore, 1968.
45. Saeed, M.M., *Tadhkirah Mashaikh-i Shiraz-i Hind*, Islamic Book Publishers, Lahore, 1976.
46. Saiyid, Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, *Bazm-i sufiyya*, Azamgarh, 1949.
47. Shahpuri, Abad, *Hazrat Mujaddid Alf-i thani-ke siyasi Maktubat*, Lahore, 1977.
48. Siddiqi, M. Hamid., *Khawaja Bandanawaz*, Hyderabad, n.d.
49. Siddiqi, Obaidur Rahman, *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Ghazipur*, Ghazipur, 2001.
50. Sindhi, Ubaidullah, *Shah Waliullah aur unka falsafa*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Lahore, 1946.
51. \_\_\_\_\_, *Shah Waliullah aur unki siyasi tahrik*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Lahore, 1945.
52. Umar, Hakim Muhammad, *Halat-i Gesudaraz Sawanih-i Banda Nawaz*, Delhi, 1320 A.H.

### (D) Articles and Journals

1. Ahmad Aziz, "Religious and political ideas of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi", *Revista degli studi Orientali*, Vol. 36, 1961, pp. 259-70.
2. Amedroz, H.F., "Notes on some sufi life", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, March, 1912.
3. Ansari, M. Abdul Haq, "A Select Bibliography on Shaikh Ahmad sirhindi", *Muslim World Bk*, Rev, 8, No. 3, 1988.
4. Asiri, Fazl Mahmood, "Shah Waliullah as a mystic", *An English Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, No. II, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1952.
5. Aslam, Muhammad, "Jahangir and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol. X, pp. 135-48.
6. Bhanu, Dharma, "The Roushania Movement and the Mughals", *An English Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, Vol. II, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1952.
7. Chandra, Satish, "Latiaf-i Quddusi" (A Contemporary Afghan source for the study of Afghan Mughal Conflict), New Delhi, 2005.
8. Digby, Simon, "Abdul Quddus Gangohi, the personality and attitude of a Medieval Indian Sufi", *Medieval India*, A Miscellany, vol. III, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh.
9. \_\_\_\_\_, "Deccan in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Naqshbandis", *Varia Turcica*, Paris, Istambul, 1990.
10. \_\_\_\_\_, "Qalandars in the Delhi sultanate", offprint from *Islam in Asia*, Vol. I, South Asia, Jeruslam, 1984.
11. \_\_\_\_\_, "Strategies of prestige in Indian sufi legend", *Harrassowitz Verlag*, Wiesbadan, 1994.
12. Habib, M. Irfan, , "The Political Role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Waliullah", *Enquiry*, Vol. 5, 1961. pp. 36-55, Also proceeding of Indian History Congress (Aligarh), 1960.

13. Haq, Enamul, "Sufi Movement in Bengal", *Indo-Islamic*, Vol. III, No. 1, July, 1948.
14. Hasan, Nurul, "Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Mughal Politics", *Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, 1946.
15. Iraqi, Shahabuddin, "Akbars Relations with non-Sufi Saints of India", *Islamic Heritage in South Asian Subcontinent*, Vol. II, Jaipur, 2000.
16. Khan, Majid Ali, "Tasawwuf Ki Haqiqat : Hazrat Mujaddid Ki Tajdeed-i tasawwuf", *Al Furqan*, March, 1978.
17. Nawab, Amin Jung Sir, "Islamic mysticism, tasawwuf in theory and practice", *Islamic Culture*, July, 1942.
18. Nizami, K.A., "Medieval Mystics and government service", Meerut College, Magazine 1945, pp. 6-7.
19. \_\_\_\_\_, "Naqshbandi Influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 39, 1965, pp. 41-52.
20. \_\_\_\_\_, "Sufi Movement in Deccan, History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724)", vol. II, the government of Andhra Pradesh, 1974.
21. \_\_\_\_\_, "The shattari saint and their attitude towards the state", *Medieval India Quarterly*, vol. I, No. 2, Oct., 1950.
22. \_\_\_\_\_, "The suhrawardi silsilah and its influence on Medieval Indian Politics", *Medieval India Quarterly*, vol. III, No. 1 and 2, July-October, 1957.
23. Sabir, Iqbal, "Impact of Ibn Arabis Mystical thought on the Sufis of India during the 16<sup>th</sup> century", Zeroxed vol. of the Department of History, A.M.U. for 61<sup>th</sup> Session, Calcutta, 2000.
24. \_\_\_\_\_, "Jahangir Relations with the contemporary ulama and Sufis", zeroxed vol. of the Department of History, A.M.U. for 60<sup>th</sup> session of Indian History Congress at Kalicut, 1999.

25. Sherwani, Haroon Khan, "Cultural influence under Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, *Islamic Culture*, October, 1944.
26. \_\_\_\_\_, "Some Aspects of the Bahmani Culture", *Islamic Culture*, Jan. 1943.
27. Siddiqui, Abdul Majeed, "Makhduma-i Jahan", *Islamic Culture*, July, 1943.
28. Siddiqui, Iqtidar Hussain, "Sufis and Sufism in the territory of Kalpi (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries)", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, vol. V, No. 1, Islamabad, 1984.